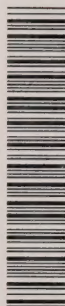


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# **Immigration policy and management in selected countries**

A study of immigration policy and management  
and their implications for population growth  
in the United States, Australia and Israel.

Freda Hawkins





Can. Dept. of Manpower and Immigration

Canadian  
immigration  
and population  
study

[Green Paper on Immigration]

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Manpower  
and Immigration

Main-d'œuvre  
et Immigration



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## FOREWORD


This paper is a study of immigration policy and management in three countries with large post-war immigration movements. In each of these countries, immigration has played a major part in national development and may still exercise an important influence on future development and population growth. In each country, the population question is a current policy issue and special studies have been made, or are now underway — by the U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future; by a National Population Inquiry in Australia; and by a Special Committee of the Ministries of Finance and of the Interior, as well as by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel — to determine optimum levels of population growth and desirable patterns of population dispersal. In two of these countries, immigration has been regarded as a very important variable in planning for the future.

Immigration policy and management in the United States, Australia and Israel have a great deal in common with the same area of public policy in Canada, even though each of these countries has a different approach to immigration, different expectations of it and its own distinctive style of management. Nevertheless, there are similarities at every turn, mainly because immigration itself has its own imperative requirements and problems, and because the basic needs of immigrants are very similar wherever they go and wherever they come from.

Allowing for substantial differences in geography, historical experience and politics, the paper attempts to examine certain basic factors relating to immigration policy and management in the United States, Australia and Israel. These factors, which may vary in importance in each country and are not necessarily taken in order, are as follows:

- Intake, origins and distribution of immigrants;
- Philosophy and present purposes of immigration;
- Historical evolution of immigration policy and its present form and character;
- Responsible government agencies and methods of management;
- Public participation;
- Problems of control and illegality;
- Recent developments relating to immigration and population growth.

No attempt is made in this paper to draw conclusions, but it is hoped that the distinctive ways in which these three countries manage immigration, and their judgment about its present uses and future contribution to population growth and national development, will be helpful in the study of immigration and population growth in Canada.



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## THE UNITED STATES

In fiscal year 1973, 400,063 immigrants were admitted to the United States, an annual figure which has only been exceeded once since the Second World War. During the same period, a total of more than 259 million aliens and citizens were inspected and admitted at U.S. ports of entry, an increase of over 13 million over the previous year. The detailed annual statistics of the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service reveal other significant increases. Fiscal year 1973 has in fact shown a striking overall increase in the volume of U.S. immigration.<sup>1</sup>

### IMMIGRATION: FISCAL YEAR 1973

In a speech on U.S. immigration policy at the 1973 Annual Meeting of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference (AICC), Barbara Watson, Administrator of the Department of State's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs<sup>2</sup> called this fiscal year a "bumper year" and said that if one were charting the economic growth of a developing country, 1973 might be described as a take-off point. "In round figures" she said, "the total number of immigrant visas issued, adjustments of status and refugees admitted increased 1,000 in 1971 and 2,000 in 1972. In fiscal year 1973, however, the overall increase was 13,000."<sup>3</sup> On the non-immigrant side, total issuance went up 100,000 in 1971 and 150,000 in 1972. Last year's increase, however, was 550,000 — over half a million — above the 1972 figure". She added that this 24 per cent increase in non-immigrant visa issuance represented the largest increase noted in recent history and was almost double the average annual increase during the past decade.<sup>4</sup>

As in Canadian immigration, there has been a striking global shift from north to south in the national origins of American immigrants in recent years. In the Eastern Hemisphere, immigration from Northern Europe has declined sharply, including substantially lower admission figures for Britain and West Germany. Italy, Greece, Portugal and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, continue to send large numbers of immigrants to the United States. The significant growth areas in American immigration since 1965, however, have been Asia (from 20,683 in 1965 to 124,160 in 1973), Latin America (from 81,781 to 99,407), West Indies (from 37,583 to 64,765), and on a smaller scale, Africa (from 3,383 to 6,655) and Oceania which includes Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific and other islands (from 1,516 to

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A, "Immigration to the United States, 1820-1973". The U.S. fiscal year ends on June 30.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Watson, who has held this post — a political appointment — since the Johnson Administration, has now submitted her resignation and this was accepted as of December 31, 1974.

<sup>3</sup> In the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, the number of immigrants admitted annually is limited to 170,000 and 120,000 respectively. These levels have always been reached in recent years. The increase noted here therefore comes primarily from an increasing number of visas issued to immediate relatives who are admitted automatically and from special immigrant visas.

<sup>4</sup> Address of the Honorable Barbara Watson, Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, American Citizenship and Immigration Conference, New York, November 2, 1973.

3,255). In the Western Hemisphere, Canadian immigration to the United States has fallen from 38,327 in 1965 to 8,951 in 1973, while Mexican immigration has almost doubled. At 70,141 in 1973, Mexico is now the leading source country in American immigration. The changing national origins of American immigrants are seen clearly in the following table which shows the 15 major source countries in the years 1965 and 1973.

TABLE I  
MAJOR SOURCE COUNTRIES IN U.S. IMMIGRATION, FISCAL YEARS 1965 AND 1973

1965			1973		
1.	Canada	38,327	1.	Mexico	70,141
2.	Mexico	37,969	2.	Philippines	30,799
3.	United Kingdom	27,358	3.	Cuba	24,147
4.	Germany	24,045	4.	Korea	22,930
5.	Cuba	19,760	5.	Italy	22,151
6.	Colombia	10,885	6.	China	17,297
7.	Italy	10,821	7.	Dominican Republic	13,921
8.	Dominican Republic	9,504	8.	India	13,124
9.	Poland	8,465	9.	Greece	10,751
10.	Argentina	6,124	10.	Portugal	10,751
11.	Ireland	5,463	11.	United Kingdom	10,638
12.	Ecuador	4,392	12.	Jamaica	9,963
13.	France	4,039	13.	Canada	8,951
14.	China	4,057	14.	Yugoslavia	7,582
15.	Haiti	3,609	15.	Trinidad and Tobago	7,035

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

There are other matters of note in the recent U.S. admission figures. One of these is the considerable and continuing inflow of professional, scientific and artistic talent under the third preference of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which permits the entry of "members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability". In the last five years, 48,532 third-preference immigrants have been admitted including 8,521 in 1973. In 1972, out of a total of 10,385 immigrants admitted under this preference, 7,568 were physicians, surgeons and dentists. This number included 1,552 from India, 794 from Korea, 269 from Thailand, 211 from Pakistan and totals of 240 from Africa, 179 from the West Indies and 289 from Latin America. In 1972, 6,851 nurses were admitted, including 3,836 from Asia. In the same year, 2,743 scientists were admitted including agricultural specialists, biologists, geologists, physicists and chemists, many of them from developing countries.



In view of the heavy concentration of Canadian immigrants in Ontario and to a lesser extent in British Columbia and Quebec, it is interesting also to note the concentration of American immigrants in states which are either very prosperous or climatically agreeable or both. Thus of the total number of aliens reporting their addresses to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in January 1973 in accordance with the Immigration and Nationality Act — more than four and a half million, the vast majority of whom registered as permanent residents — over 50 per cent registered in one of four states: California, New York, Florida or Texas. California had attracted 24.7 per cent of the total; New York, 17.3 per cent; Florida, 7.7 per cent; Texas, 6.4 per cent; with Illinois a close fifth at 6.2 per cent. Although some states have always attracted large numbers of immigrants, this pattern of spontaneous settlement, unlike its Canadian counterpart, has shifted somewhat in recent years responding to the expanding economies and movement of populations towards the fast-growing metropolitan areas of the south and west.

The United States, like Canada, does not keep records of people who leave the country permanently and emigration levels have to be calculated from various indirect sources. These sources suggest that approximately 255,000 residents left the country permanently between 1960 and 1970 of whom more than half were U.S. citizens. A tentative figure of 37,000 emigrants in 1970 was proposed recently.<sup>5</sup> Present indications are, however, that these figures are too low. It is evident that emigration from the United States has been increasing, particularly in the last few years, and that political alienation has been an important factor in the decision of many citizens and aliens to emigrate. Canada, Israel, Australia and Britain are popular destinations for American emigrants. Research on emigration is now in progress within the Bureau of the Census.

## A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS: EVOLUTION OF

### IMMIGRATION POLICY AND LAW

When the first census was taken in 1790, the population of the United States was 3,227,000 and 75 per cent of this number was of British origin. Today, as of November 1, 1974, the population figures stand at 212,916,000, a total comprised primarily of immigrants and their descendants who have emigrated or found their way to America from almost every part of the globe.

Far more than in Canada, immigration has been a major theme in American history with a special place in the nation's vision of American democracy and national development. This attitude is very important today as the United States, like Canada and Australia, looks at its immigration figures for the first time in the light of optimum levels of population growth. As we shall see, it makes this aspect of the American experience difficult to change in any substantial way and difficult to control. Not only is immigration regarded as a constituent element in American

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<sup>5</sup> *Population and the American Future*. Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 115.

history and tradition, but it is also felt by many to be a continuously stimulating and dynamic feature of American life, as well as a humanitarian exercise on a considerable scale.

One of the most recent expressions of this ideological approach to American immigration comes from the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future which reported to the President and Congress in March 1972 following a two-year study. The Commission said that because population growth had rarely been a concern of immigration policy-makers, it was especially important to study immigration from the point of view of population policy. Historically immigration had contributed profoundly to the growth and development of the United States. We pride ourselves, the Commission said, on being a nation of immigrants and went on to say in a characteristic American statement:

Our nation's history repeatedly reveals the outstanding contribution of immigrants. They provided much of the manpower and initiative that settled the colonies and opened the west. They helped build the railroads, worked in the factories, organized labor, succeeded at the highest levels of business and government and have left an indelible mark on American arts and scholarship. Immigrants to-day are contributing in equally significant ways, and there is every reason to expect such benefits from immigration in the future. Our society has been shaped by the many identities of its citizens.<sup>6</sup>

There have been strong countervailing forces, however, in the moving and turbulent history of American immigration. The more peaceful years which have followed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which removed racial discrimination in immigration embodied in the national origins quota system, tend now to make one forget that prior to this, immigration had been a strongly disputed subject in the United States for a hundred years or more. The controversy surrounding the Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952 which preserved the national origins quota system instituted in 1924 and was passed over President Truman's veto, is a classic case study in the issue of racial discrimination versus universality in immigration policy. Like Watergate, it brought into play the whole complex apparatus of American democracy. In the report entitled "Whom We Shall Welcome" of President Truman's Commission on Immigration and Nationalization appointed in 1952 to examine this piece of legislation, it was concluded that this law embodied policies and principles which were unwise and injurious to the nation, that it rested upon an attitude of hostility and distrust against all aliens, that it applied discriminations against human beings on account of race, creed and colour and that it ignored the needs of the United States in domestic affairs and foreign policies.

Nevertheless, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 had strong support behind it at this period of Cold War and McCarthyism, and for another 13 years it remained the law of the United States, preserving the national origins quota system designed to favour immigrants from northern and western Europe and to control by quota or totally exclude immigrants of other national origins. But opposition was strong too within Congress and outside and the principal intent of the Act was never fulfilled.

<sup>6</sup> *Population and the American Future*. Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 114. See also, Kennedy, J. F., *A Nation of Immigrants*, rev., ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 64, 65 and 68. President Kennedy said that the continuous immigration of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was "central to the whole American faith".



Pressures were immediately applied and legislation introduced to facilitate the admission of restricted classes of immigrants, special categories and groups, and large numbers of relatives. Between 1952 and 1965, two out of every three immigrants were non-quota entrants and the majority of immigrants came to the United States from the less-favoured countries of Southern Europe and Asia.<sup>7</sup>

### Free Migration

There have been other major battles in the history of American immigration which are described by some historians and sociologists as a long drawn-out conflict between the forces of liberality and restriction, each in the ascendant for significant stretches of time; while others emphasize that immigration is a policy area in which these forces are always present in different degrees, depending upon political and economic circumstances. The earlier period of American history up to the First World War is well-known as the period of free migration on a vast scale, with an open-door policy to immigrants of many nationalities, although vocal restrictionist elements were always present in American society as well as periodic anti-foreign agitation.

Between 1881 and 1920, twenty-three and a half million aliens were admitted to the United States for permanent residence, ten million of them arriving in the peak years of 1905-14. Ninety per cent of these immigrants came from Europe, at first mainly from the north and west and later from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. Four million Italian immigrants arrived during this period, as well as almost four million immigrants from Austria-Hungary and three million from Russia. Less well-known outside the United States, however, is the precise nature and development of the restrictionist legislation which followed this immense movement of people to American shores. We can only trace in broad outline here the evolution of immigration policy and law in the United States from the late nineteenth century onwards, but some knowledge of its major themes is essential for an understanding of the American immigration scene today.

Early American immigration law was mainly concerned with defining prohibited classes of immigrants. The first general immigration statute was enacted on August 3, 1882. It provided for a head tax of 50 cents and barred the admission of convicts, mental defectives and persons likely to become a public charge. In the same year Congress passed the first of the Chinese Exclusion Acts which were not repealed until December 1943, and it is interesting to compare this with very similar action against the Chinese in Canada and Australia. A second general immigration law was passed in March 1891 providing for the medical inspection of all aliens arriving in the United States; for the deportation of all those who had entered illegally; and barring the entry of paupers and polygamists — reflecting the controversy with the Mormons over the admission of Utah. In 1903, Congress passed a further immigration law excluding the insane, professional beggars and anarchists, and in 1907 the existing categories of the inadmissible were further enlarged. Apart from legislation specifically affecting the Chinese, however, there was no major piece of selective and restrictive legislation in immigration until the Immigration Act of 1917 which, like the McCarran-Walter Act, was carried over presidential veto.

<sup>7</sup> See *The New Immigration, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 367 (September 1966) for an excellent discussion of the Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952 and subsequent legislation.

Strong majority restrictionist sentiment had been developing in the United States as the flow of immigrants grew ever larger before the First World War, and the war itself intensified hostility to the foreign born. The 1917 Act was passed in the face of determined opposition in Congress, but it was a significant victory for the restrictionists. It marked the beginning of a long period of discrimination in American immigration, based on race and national origins, which only ended with the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 — legislation originally initiated by President Kennedy — on which present immigration policy is based.

#### The National Origins Quota System

The 1917 Act set up the Asiatic Barred Zone which excluded immigrants from the countries of south-eastern Asia. It also greatly increased the power of immigration officials to exclude and deport aliens; it required a literacy test on the part of all aliens over 16 years of age (the outcome of a 20-year effort on the part of the restrictionists); and it doubled the head tax on immigrants. After the war, however, when immigrant arrivals began to increase again, and when it was reported that millions of Europeans were ready to migrate to the United States, the Act began to appear inadequate to the restriction-minded who were now in the majority. A strong demand arose, supported by the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, the National Grange and other organizations, for more effective legislation.

After successive bills had been introduced in Congress to suspend or limit immigration, a Quota Act was finally passed in 1921, restricting immigration for a limited period of time by means of a quota system. This led to the Quota Act of 1924 which introduced a more elaborate formula for computing national quotas which became known as the national origins quota system. This Act eventually came into effect on July 1, 1929, after several postponements and lengthy calculations by a quota board.

When it came into effect, the Quota Act provided for annual quotas for different nationalities which were calculated on the basis of 2 per cent of the total number of persons of that nationality who were in the United States according to the 1920 census. The annual quotas totalled 153,714. The Act also required every would-be immigrant to obtain a visa from a U.S. consular officer. It also provided, in a significant move which created a separate admission system for the Western Hemisphere, for the admission of certain aliens as non-quota immigrants including those born in Western Hemisphere countries, together with their wives, husbands and children, and the wives, husbands and children of U.S. citizens, clergymen and their families and persons who had been American citizens. The clear intention of the national origins plan was to preserve the existing ethnic composition of the population of the United States; to reduce the volume of immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere and particularly from southern and eastern Europe; and to provide a simple automatic system for the selection of immigrants. In addition to the exclusion of the Chinese and so-called Asiatic Barred Zone set up in 1917, an additional racial barrier to immigration was introduced in 1924, whereby eligibility for citizenship was made a condition for admission as an immigrant to the United

States. At that time only members of the white and negro races could be naturalized.

The Second World War, which followed a period of very low immigration during the thirties, exercised a limited liberalizing influence on attitudes to immigration in the United States and on legislation in this field. As we have seen, the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943. They were replaced by an annual Chinese quota of 105 and Chinese immigrants were declared eligible for naturalization. In 1946, Congress extended naturalization eligibility to Indians and to all Filipinos, and the small Filipino quota was extended from 50 to 100. Opposition to the national origins quota system was also strengthened to some extent and towards the end of the war, as in Canada, a wave of humanitarian feeling developed towards the dispossessed and uprooted peoples of Europe. This was expressed in part in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which permitted the entry of 202,000 displaced persons over a two-year period. At the same time, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed in Congress with the confusion and disorder of existing immigration law, which now consisted principally of the acts of 1917 and 1924, plus more than 200 additional enactments and numerous Executive orders, proclamations and regulations. In 1947 a Senate resolution authorized a major investigation into the entire immigration system. Following five years of extensive Congressional study, a comprehensive immigration bill was introduced in the Senate by Patrick A. McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and in the House by Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality. This bill was enacted as the Immigration and Nationality Act of June 27, 1952. As striking evidence of the political climate of the day, President Truman's veto was overridden by a Democratic Congress by more than the required two-thirds majority.

#### The McCarran-Walter Act

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was a remarkable piece of legislation and is still the basic immigration statute in the United States. It has been amended regularly since then, and most significantly in 1965 when the 89th Congress abolished the national origins quota system, introducing a different and universal method of selecting immigrants, and controlling, to some extent, their overall numbers. The McCarran-Walter Act did some liberal as well as illiberal things and made some useful legislative changes. It went through six complete revisions before it was adopted. The following is a brief description of its major provisions:

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was the product of the most extensive Congressional study in the nation's history. The Act codified and brought together for the first time all the nation's laws on immigration and naturalization. It continued and enlarged upon qualitative restrictions; revised but continued the national origins quota system of immigrant selection in effect since 1929; eliminated race and sex as a bar to immigration; Western Hemisphere immigration was continued quota-free; quota preferences were established for relations and skilled aliens; security provisions against criminals and subversives were strengthened; and due process was safeguarded.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.



We may note here two of its more striking provisions. The Act removed racial bars to immigration and naturalization, but continued to limit the former numerically. As a way of extending and supposedly refining the national origins quota system, the Act established the concept of the “Asia-Pacific Triangle”, an area embracing some twenty countries with about half the world’s population. Under the Act, these countries were given, for the first time, minimum annual quotas of 100 each with 185 for Japan and 105 for Chinese persons outside China. Secondly, in a much more significant provision in the sense of future legislation, the Act established a system of preferences within national quotas which has become, in a different context, a major feature of the new admission policy established in 1965.

The national origins quota system, as conceived in the early twenties and developed in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, failed in its central purpose which was to preserve the earlier ethnic composition of the American population. It left too many loopholes particularly in the area of non-quota immigration. It forced, or attempted to force, immigration into an unrealistic pattern by giving large quotas to countries in northern and western Europe, whose citizens were now less anxious to emigrate to the United States; and it opened the way to pressure, on a considerable scale, from other national groups and their relatives who had a powerful desire to do so. It was also a very elaborate way of selecting immigrants and exercising some control over annual intake. It is ironic that Canada and Australia who did precisely the same thing in a more straightforward way were undoubtedly more successful in their overall objectives. All three countries practised racial discrimination in immigration policy in the first half of this century through to the sixties in the case of Canada and the United States, and to the early seventies in the case of Australia.<sup>9</sup>

#### U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND LAW TODAY

During the years following the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, Congress enacted some 32 public laws, the overall effect of which, it has been said, was “to widen the loopholes in the national origins quota system to such an extent that it was effectively nullified”.<sup>10</sup> But in 1965 the system itself was abolished by the Immigration Act of that year signed into law by President Johnson on October 3. This important piece of legislation had first taken the form of recommendations to Congress by President Kennedy who had long been an advocate of immigration reform. Bills were introduced in the Senate and the House in July 1963 to carry out the President’s recommendations. After his death, the cause of reform was strongly supported and taken forward by President Johnson who made the following statement during his first State of the Union Message on January 8, 1964:

We must lift by legislation the bar of discrimination against those who seek entry to our country, particularly those with much-needed skills and those joining their families. In establishing preferences, a nation that was built by the immigrants of all lands can ask those who now seek admission: “What can you do for your country?” But we should not be asking “In what country were you born?”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Canada abandoned racial discrimination in immigration policy in her Immigration Regulations of 1962 — barring one restriction affecting Asian relatives which was removed in 1967; the United States did so in the Immigration Act of 1965; and Australia did the same in a statement by the Prime Minister in the House of Representatives in 1973.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>11</sup> *Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 110 (January 8, 1964), p. 115.

When he signed the Act into law in 1965, President Johnson said that this was not a revolutionary bill. It simply said that “from this day forth those wishing to emigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here”.<sup>12</sup>

This is now the basis of American immigration policy. This policy is universal and founded on the twin principles of family reunion and the needs of the U.S. labour market, particularly for skills and talents which are outstanding or in short supply. It is short-term in its objectives, but still supported as we have seen, at least for the present, by a fundamental belief in the positive value of immigration for America and in its general humanitarian purpose.

The Act of 1965 created a new admission policy and a new system for the automatic selection of immigrants, a very explicit system founded in law, and it provided also for a reasonable degree of control over the total number of immigrants admitted annually.<sup>13</sup> In the Eastern Hemisphere, it is based on a system of preferences, but not within national quotas as in the 1952 Act. The following are the major provisions of the 1965 Act:

1. The national origins quota system was to be abolished as of July 1, 1968 and the Asia-Pacific Triangle provision was to be repealed immediately.
2. For the Eastern Hemisphere, an overall ceiling of 170,000 immigrant visas, exclusive of parents, spouses and children of U.S. citizens, was established on a first-come first-served basis with a ceiling of 20,000 visas annually for each foreign state.
3. For the Eastern Hemisphere also, seven preference categories were established, four for the purpose of family reunion, two for professional and skilled or unskilled workers and one for refugees.
4. For natives of the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere, an overall ceiling of 120,000 visas, exclusive of parents, spouses and children of U.S. citizens, was established as of July 1, 1968 unless Congress provided otherwise.

In a very important new departure, whose purpose was to protect American workers and to forge a stronger link between immigration and national manpower policies, the Act requires aliens seeking permanent admission for purposes of employment to obtain a certification from the Department of Labour before a visa can be issued. The certification is based on a determination that sufficient workers are not available in the United States and that admitting the alien will not adversely affect similarly employed workers in the labour force. Prior to this, workers were free to enter unless the Department of Labour acted to prevent their entry.

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<sup>12</sup> *Congressional Quarterly*, XXIII, 41 (October 8, 1965), pp. 2063-4.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix B.

## Further Reform

The 1965 Act did not, however, resolve all the outstanding problems in U.S. immigration. It did not deal in a satisfactory or conclusive way with Western Hemisphere immigration, even though a Select Commission was appointed to look into the matter.<sup>14</sup> It did nothing to improve the law relating to refugees and refugee policy. Since it was passed, there has been widespread criticism of the labour certification program and increasing concern about the very large number of illegal immigrants now in the United States. As a result, there are now four important bills before Congress to amend the Act, including two (H.R. 981 and H.R. 982) which have recently passed the House of Representatives, and two others (S.2643 and S.3827) which were introduced in the Senate by Senator Edward Kennedy on November 2, 1973 and July 29, 1974 respectively. At the time of writing, all these bills await consideration by the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

In November 1973, the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Sub-Committee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law, Joshua Eilberg, said that the Judiciary Committee had defined the reform of the immigration law currently underway as a three-step operation, with the first step the abolition in 1965 of the national origins quota system. The second step, embodied in H.R. 981 which had passed the House and was now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee, was to extend the preference system and per-country limit currently in effect in the Eastern Hemisphere to the Western Hemisphere, where there was now a two-year waiting list for all intending immigrants. This would enable aliens from both hemispheres to immigrate to the United States on the basis of family ties or personal qualifications rather than the place of their birth. The State Department, he said, reported serious concern about the adverse effect which current immigration law was having on foreign relations in this hemisphere, particularly with Canada. The third step and ultimate goal of the immigration reform now underway was a unified, world-wide immigration system with a single world-wide ceiling and revised preference system. It was the intention of the Committee to move in this direction after they had had some experience with Western Hemisphere immigration under a preference system and per-country limit.

The Sub-committee also intended, Congressman Eilberg said, to address itself to a revision of the present labour certification program whose administration by the Department of Labour had not been satisfactory. Information from independent sources indicated a considerable and disturbing lack of uniformity in the program's administration in different parts of the country. Other new immigration goals included a revision of the refugee provisions of the law. H.R. 981 significantly amended these provisions in an attempt to clarify the present law and allow sufficient flexibility for meeting emergency refugee situations. The House had also passed H.R. 982 which makes it unlawful for employers knowingly to employ aliens who are either not lawfully admitted for permanent residence or not authorized to work while in the United States. The Sub-committee itself had also held oversight hearings in 1973 on the operations of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, as well as the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs with regard to their implementation of the immigration law.

<sup>14</sup> The Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration which reported to the President and the Congress in January 1968.



The Judiciary Committee had exclusive jurisdiction in this very important oversight area, he said, and expansion of these activities was one of the Sub-committee's major new goals.<sup>15</sup>

In introducing the first of his two bills now pending before the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (S.2643), Senator Kennedy said that this proposed legislation accomplishes two long-sought objectives: first to refine and strengthen the new system established in 1965 and secondly to establish a new humanitarian policy of asylum for refugees and victims of natural disaster and war. This bill differs in some important respects from H.R. 981. It establishes a world-wide ceiling of 300,000 immigrants annually, exclusive of U.S. citizens and family members and other special immigrants, and becomes effective on July 1, 1976, with interim levels of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere and 130,000 for the Western Hemisphere during a three-year transitional period. The bill extends the present limit of 20,000 immigrants annually from any one country in the Eastern Hemisphere to the Western Hemisphere also, except that Canada and Mexico are each given a maximum of 35,000. The preference system established in 1965 is amended and broadened to include the Western Hemisphere and the bill also attempts to establish a comprehensive refugee policy. In the latter respect, the bill broadens the existing definition of a refugee "from its present European and Cold War framework to include the homeless throughout the world". It raises the number of annual refugee admissions allocated within the preference system from the current maximum of 10,200 to 36,000. It authorizes the Attorney General to parole into the country additional numbers of refugees in times of emergency and it provides a permanent authority to adjust the status of refugee parolees to that of permanent residence thus avoiding the need for special legislation for each refugee movement.

The main purpose of Senator Kennedy's second bill (S.3827), introduced in the Senate in July 1974, is to provide — in the Senator's own words — "a humanitarian solution of the problem of illegal aliens".<sup>16</sup> In summarizing the bill, the Senator said that first, the bill provided an authority to regularize the status of illegal aliens, and other aliens present in the United States in violation of the law, who have been physically present (in the U.S.) for at least three years and are otherwise admissible for permanent residence. Secondly, the bill placed reasonable sanctions on the employers of illegal aliens. Thirdly, the bill provided for the adjustment of status of non-immigrant aliens from Western Hemisphere countries on the same basis as non-immigrant aliens from Eastern Hemisphere countries; and fourthly, the bill amended the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to bar job discrimination against "aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence". It is believed that Section 2 of the bill which authorizes the regularization of the status of illegal aliens who have lived in the United States for a least three years may have been inspired by Canada's recent amnesty for her illegal aliens — the 1973 Immigration Adjustment of Status Program.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Address to the Annual Meeting of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference (AICC), New York, November 2, 1973.

<sup>16</sup> Interpreter Releases, American Council for Nationalities Service, Vol. 51, No. 30, New York, August 26, 1974, p. 224.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-227.

## POLICY-MAKING AND MANAGEMENT

Article I, section 8, clause 3 of the Constitution of the United States grants to the Congress authority to determine American immigration policy under the power “to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states and with the Indian tribes” and, as this paper has attempted to show within a limited space, this power is very fully used. As in no other country, Congress not only makes immigration policy, but keeps existing legislation and its relevance to current needs under constant scrutiny, so that immigration policy is in a state of continuous evolution. The Senate and House Committees on the Judiciary and their sub-committees play a vital role in this process, as do those individual members of Congress who make immigration a major and often a lifelong concern. As in no other country, the way in which these Congressional committees operate, and the contacts maintained by individual members, permit a significant input in the policy-making process from the considerable number of national organizations, voluntary agencies and individuals who are concerned about immigration and the development of immigration policy. As well as interacting continuously with the Congressional committees, the bureaucracy is also remarkably accessible, comparatively speaking, to the voluntary sector and to informed opinion outside its ranks, and both the policy-making process in immigration and management itself are characterized by an openness and degree of democratic discussion not found elsewhere. This special kind of political environment is an outcome in part of the profoundly legalistic character of U.S. immigration policy and management in which the law, its operation and evolution are the central focus of the entire system.

Immigration in the United States is managed by the Department of State together with the Department of Justice and, to a lesser extent, the Department of Labor, the U.S. Public Health Service and other agencies. The Secretary of State is responsible for the administration and enforcement of the immigration laws, as they relate to the issuance and refusal of immigrant and non-immigrant visas overseas by consular officers; and he is authorized to establish regulations, prescribe forms and procedures and perform such other acts necessary to carry out his responsibilities. Within his department, these responsibilities are delegated to the Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, a presidential appointee who is subject to Senate confirmation. Within the Bureau and under the direct jurisdiction of the Administrator is the Visa Office, headed by a director who is traditionally a Foreign Service officer. The Visa Office is responsible for the co-ordination of consular visa work at 242 posts throughout the world. In preparation for visa duties abroad, consular officers take a course in visa instruction at the Foreign Service Institute as part of their Foreign Service training.

The Attorney General is responsible for the administration and enforcement of immigration and nationality laws as they affect aliens after they arrive in the United States. These responsibilities are delegated to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the Department of Justice which is headed by a Commissioner who is also a presidential appointee. The duties of the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is one of the principal law enforcement agencies in the United States, include the inspection of persons to determine their admissibility to the United States; adjudicating requests for benefits under the law; preventing illegal entry into the United States; investigations, apprehension and removal of aliens in the United States in violation of the law; and the examination of applicants wishing to become

citizens. The extensive nature of these responsibilities can be judged from the fact that, in fiscal year 1973, more than 260 million aliens and citizens were inspected and admitted to the United States.

The enforcement of immigration laws is the special responsibility of two divisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Investigations and Border Patrol. Some idea of the vast scale of their operations, and the continuous battle that is waged in the United States against illegal entry and other forms of illegality in immigration, can be gained from the fact that, in 1973, the Immigration and Naturalization Service employed an investigation force of 850 men and women, stationed at all the district headquarters of the Service, except those located in foreign countries, and at many sub-offices. At the same time, the uniformed Border Patrol of this Service had 1,700 officers of whom 80 per cent are stationed in the southwest, where the southern frontier of the United States extends for some two thousand miles from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

On the investigations side, the investigator, whose official title is "criminal investigator", is a fact-finder for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and has considerable powers of interrogation and investigation without a warrant, as well as the power to arrest aliens who are entering or attempting to enter the United States in violation of the immigration laws, or any alien who is believed to be in the United States illegally and is likely to escape before a warrant for his arrest can be obtained. Investigators in the larger offices operate in groups, each of which is responsible for a particular kind of investigation which generally falls into one of the following categories: criminal prosecution, fraud, alien smuggling, criminal-immoral-narcotic racketeering, coastal control, area control, illegal status and character investigations.<sup>18</sup>

The Immigration and Naturalization Service reports increasing activity in all these areas, but particularly in those related to illegal entry. The U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Leonard F. Chapman Jr., speaking at an American Immigration and Citizenship Conference luncheon in New York in April 1974, made the following comment:

The past few years have witnessed a startling increase in the number of illegal aliens. There has also been an increase in crime associated with the illegal alien in the form of smuggling. Smuggling has become most lucrative and a number of organized rings have gotten into the business. This entry, by both legal and illegal means, already extraordinarily large, is expected to continue. The control of illegal aliens does not meet reasonable law enforcement standards. We feel that the deluge of aliens, particularly on the United States/Mexican border, must be checked. Increases in enforcement resources must be employed to deter and apprehend illegal entries and stop the escalation of this problem.<sup>19</sup>

The Immigration and Naturalization Service also reports the increasing use of altered or fraudulent passports, non-immigrant visas and immigrant documents; and unprecedented numbers of fraudulent claims to U.S. citizenship and legal status in the United States.

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<sup>18</sup> From information provided by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

<sup>19</sup> "Immigration and Citizenship: Looking Forward", Address by the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, AICC Luncheon, New York, April 26, 1974.



Very serious concern is now felt by Congress and the public over the growing number of illegal immigrants. We have seen that two of the immigration bills now before Congress aim to penalize employers who knowingly employ illegal aliens — and that one of these — Senator Kennedy's most recent bill — proposes a form of amnesty for illegal aliens who have been living in the United States for at least three years. In fiscal year 1973, 16,842 aliens were deported and 568,005 were required to depart — the largest number since 1954. Among this number, the main grounds for being deported or required to depart were as follows:

	Required to Depart	Deported
Entered without inspection or by false statement . . . . .	15,555	9,342
Failed to maintain or comply with conditions of non-immigrant status . . . . .	35,698	3,989
Entered without proper documents . . . . .	2,657	2,247

Among those who were deported in 1973, the largest number were deported to Mexico (10,402), then to Greece (724), to Canada (690), to Guatemala (685) and to El Salvador (652).<sup>20</sup>

#### Immigrant Services

In relation to the other responsibilities of government in immigration, it may be useful to note here that neither the federal government nor the states provide their own unique services for immigrants, with the exception of the citizenship and citizenship education programs of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; and direct funding for service agencies is only provided in special circumstances such as those relating to refugee movements. Practical help for immigrants is provided by a network of voluntary organizations including sectarian agencies, nationality organizations and groups, international institutes (now numbering twenty-eight) and many community organizations which help newcomers, but generally without the orientation and information to do so very effectively. While excellent work is done by many of these agencies, this pattern of service and general assistance offered to immigrants in their adjustment to American society is criticized by knowledgeable Americans today as being far from adequate. Voluntary agencies in the United States are suffering from the same difficulties as voluntary agencies elsewhere. With rising costs and the increasing limitations of community funding, the services and programs they provide are probably only reaching a limited number of the newcomers and more recent immigrants who need help.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, a striking feature of the immigration scene in the United States is the vitality of the voluntary sector, its constant and constructive communication

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report 1973, AICC News, Vol. XX, No. 3. New York, May 29, 1974, pp. 18-19.

<sup>21</sup> For a very interesting discussion of immigrant adjustment and ethnic group relations in the United States, see two recent publications of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference: *The Dynamics of Immigrant Integration and Ethnic Relations*, Highlights from AICC Special Seminars 1961-70, William S. Bernard, ed., AICC, New York, 1972; and *The New Immigration and the New Ethnicity*, Major papers and commentary from AICC Special Seminars, 1972-73, William S. Bernard and Judith Herman, eds., AICC, New York, 1974.

with Congress and with the bureaucracy, and its serious ongoing concern with the quality of immigration legislation. To no small extent, this is due to the efforts of one national organization, the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference which, with a very small budget and staff, has acted for many years as a means of bringing together on a regular basis a wide range of organizations and groups, as well as concerned individuals to discuss current issues on immigration, citizenship and ethnic group relations. It has played a major part in the development of an immigration lobby which, while not powerful in comparison with some lobbies in the United States, has nevertheless exercised an important liberalizing influence in the evolution of U.S. immigration law.

In one particular field — citizenship education — there is a long tradition of federal assistance to immigrants. Federal legislation requires, with few exceptions, that every applicant for naturalization (after five years continuous residence in the United States) should have a speaking, reading and writing knowledge of the English language, as well as a knowledge and understanding of the history of the United States and of the principles and form of its government. The Immigration and Naturalization Service sends the names and addresses of newly arrived immigrants to public schools across the country, so that invitations to enroll in citizenship classes can be extended to them. Home study courses are also provided by educational authorities in many of the states for applicants for naturalization. The INS also provides textbooks on citizenship free of charge to public schools and instructional films and pamphlets for various citizenship purposes.

In fiscal year 1973, 120,740 persons were naturalized. Of these, the largest number were from Cuba (17,415), China and Taiwan (9,056), Italy (8,902) and the Philippines (8,149). During the years 1964-73, the largest number of immigrants to become U.S. citizens were from the following countries:

Germany . . . . .	113,940
Cuba . . . . .	107,411
Italy . . . . .	95,576
United Kingdom . . . . .	82,288
Canada . . . . .	69,867
Mexico . . . . .	57,172 <sup>22</sup>

## THE POPULATION QUESTION

This short survey of American immigration policy and management cannot be concluded without a description of the findings, in relation to immigration, of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future referred to earlier. The Commission reported to the President and Congress on March 27, 1972. Its major recommendation was included in the letter which accompanied the report. This reads:

After two years of concentrated effort, we have concluded that, in the long run, no substantial benefits will result from further growth of the Nation's population, rather that the gradual stabilization of our population through voluntary means would contribute significantly, to the Nation's ability to solve its problems.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>23</sup> *Population and the American Future*. Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., March 1972, p. 4.

The principal recommendation of the Commission relating to immigration is as follows:

The Commission recommends that immigration not be increased and that immigration policy be reviewed periodically to reflect demographic conditions and considerations.

To implement this policy, the Commission recommends that Congress require the Bureau of the Census, in co-ordination with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to report biennially to the Congress on the Nation's demographic situation.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Bernard Berelson, President of the Population Council and a former member of the Commission, in an address to the 1973 Annual Meeting of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, said that net immigration of the order of 350,000 was now adding one-fifth of 1 per cent annually to the U.S. population, while the percentage of the population which is foreign-born is about 5 per cent. Because of the present low birthrate in the United States, however, the percentage of population growth due to legal immigration is now 25 per cent and, if illegal immigration is taken into account, immigration probably now accounts for about one-third of U.S. population growth.

Dr. Berelson also said that the Commission's principal recommendation on immigration was the first time that any official recommendation had been made urging that the impact of immigration on the nation's demographic situation be given full consideration in the determination of immigration policy. He pointed out, however, that the immigration issue had resulted in the closest vote within the Commission of any of its recommendations. Lines were sharply drawn between those who believed that, in the interest of population stabilization, and of relief from urban congestion and from unfair competition in the labour market, particularly for deprived minorities, immigration should be halved over a five-year period or reduced by about 10 per cent per year, while retaining current policy on the reunification of immediate families and on political refugees for humanitarian reasons; and those who believed that:

The end of population stabilization did not outweigh the traditional political and humanitarian reasons justifying the current flow of immigrants, that the contribution to population trends of cutting immigration in half would be small in any case. . . . that on the international scene this country could not lead in the development of enlightened population policy and at the same time seek to "solve" its own population problem by shutting out the rest of the world, and that immigration should not be used as a convenient demographic safety valve up or down depending upon our own population trends.

The latter viewpoint won the day, but only by a small margin.<sup>25</sup>

It may be instructive to note that, so far, no action has been taken in the United States following the submission of the Commission's report. The Commission itself

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>25</sup> Address to the Annual Meeting of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, New York, November 1973.



has been disbanded. Neither former President Nixon nor Congress made any move at the time to implement its recommendations or to organize some kind of follow-up; and after an initial effort to formulate a response, the bureaucracy did nothing either. Former members of the Commission put this down to the fact that population growth is simply not a vital issue in the United States at the present time. The national birthrate is so low that no one feels worried. Other national issues of major importance including Watergate, the energy crisis, inflation and the threat of recession have totally absorbed the attention of government and the public.

In a recent paper on "Immigration Composition and Population Policy", Charles B. Keely, an authority on this subject, points out that attention has only recently turned in the United States to the role of immigration in population dynamics, and that its impact on population growth has only recently "entered the public consciousness". But immigration itself, he writes, "continues to play an important role in the political, social and economic life of the United States. The immense interest in and out of Congress whenever important immigration legislation is considered, the dependence on foreign-trained medical personnel and the large numbers of professional and skilled workers entering the American labour market are indicative of the impact of immigration on important segments of society. . . ."

"A radical decrease in immigration" Professor Keely concludes "is probably not politically feasible at present, and no-one has systematically examined the implications of such a cut were it to occur." He goes on to say that, until this is done, the cost (of a major decrease in immigration) "may well be greater than the price of a somewhat larger population making a smoother transition to population stabilization".<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Keely, Charles B., "Immigration Composition and Population Policy", *Science*, Vol. 185, August 16, 1974, pp. 587-593.



## AUSTRALIA

Since the general election of December 1972 and the return to power of the Australian Labor Party after 23 years in opposition, Australia has made radical changes in her immigration policy and programs. The "White Australia policy" has been officially abandoned. The Department of Immigration, which had managed immigration at home and overseas since the Second World War, has been dismantled and immigration has been merged with labour to form a combined Department of Labor and Immigration. Annual intake is being cut back to 80,000 for 1974-75.<sup>1</sup> The Immigration Advisory Council which has done very valuable work in the settlement and adjustment of immigrants<sup>2</sup> in Australia has been closed down, and the fate of the Immigration Planning and Publicity Councils seems uncertain. In the words of the Prime Minister, "Immigration as far as the present government is concerned involves people who were born overseas and who have migrated to Australia. . . . The Government has no mass migration program at all."<sup>3</sup> All this has taken place at a time of serious inflation and rising unemployment. Nevertheless, it seems that an era in Australia of deliberate and extraordinarily successful population growth by means of immigration has suddenly come to an end.

### LABOR PARTY STATEMENT

These changes have not all occurred at once and they have clearly been related to the fortunes of the Australian Labor Party in the recent general election of May 18, 1974, to the worsening economic situation in Australia and to the public anxiety which this creates. But they also reflect the Labor Party's broad approach to immigration today, which was formally expressed in a policy statement on immigration agreed to at a party conference at Launceston in June 1971, and since reconfirmed. While an important element in this policy is "the avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality", the unmistakeable major emphasis of the policy statement lies in the way it relates immigration to Australia's economic security, to the welfare and integration of all her citizens and to "the balanced development of the nation". It is a statement which suggests consolidation far more than development.

We will now trace the sequence of events in immigration since the Labor Party came to power in December 1972. When Mr. E. G. Whitlam was sworn in as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on December 5, he said that the change of government provided a new opportunity to reassess the whole range of Australian foreign policies and attitudes, with a view to developing more constructive, flexible and progressive approaches to a number of issues.

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<sup>1</sup> This compares with targets of 110,000 for 1972-73 and 1973-74.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of unity, the word "immigrant" has been used throughout this study. Australians, however, generally use the words "migrant" and "settler" instead of "immigrant".

<sup>3</sup> Press Conference, Canberra, July 3, 1974.



Our thinking, the Prime Minister said, is towards a more independent Australian stance in international affairs and towards an Australia which will be less militarily oriented and not open to suggestions of racism, an Australia which will enjoy a growing standing as a distinctive, tolerant, co-operative and well regarded nation not only in the Asian and Pacific region but in the world at large.<sup>4</sup>

Five months later, when this reassessment had taken place, the Prime Minister made a foreign policy statement in the House of Representatives from which it was clear that the racial discrimination which has been a major feature of Australia's immigration policy throughout this century was no longer acceptable and would be removed. In this statement the Prime Minister said:

One of the crucial ways in which we must improve our global reputation is to apply our aspirations for equality at home to our relations with the peoples of the world as a whole. Just as we have embarked on a determined campaign to restore the Australian aborigines to their rightful place in Australian society, so we have an obligation to remove methodically from Australia's laws and practices all racially discriminatory provisions and from international activities any hint or suggestion that we favour policies, decrees or resolutions that seek to differentiate between peoples on the basis of the colour of their skin. As an island nation of predominantly European inhabitants situated on the edge of Asia, we cannot afford the stigma of racialism.<sup>5</sup>

This major policy development, which has taken place later in Australia than in Canada and the United States, did not happen only as a result of the Labor Government's reassessment of Australia's foreign policy and external relations in 1973. Since the Second World War, there have been a series of minor relaxations in the policy of total exclusion of non-Europeans, the well-known "White Australia policy", first established on a federal basis under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. These relaxations related to the temporary residence of non-Europeans admitted for business reasons; to the eligibility of non-Europeans for naturalization; and to the admission of "distinguished and highly qualified non-Europeans" and persons of mixed descent.

In March 1966, a further step was taken to make the admission and permanent settlement of non-Europeans a little easier. This was announced in the House of Representatives on March 9 by the then Minister for Immigration, Hubert Opperman who said that from now on "applications for entry by people wishing to settle in Australia with their wives and children will be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily and the possession of qualifications which are in fact positively useful to Australia. Those approved will initially be admitted on five-year permits and will then be able to apply for resident status and citizenship." This measure did not result in the initial admission of more than a few thousand non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent annually, increasing to approximately 10,000 by 1971-72, but it did open the door to a limited extent and it did establish the principle of skill as a means of entry. That it was intended to do no more than this is clear from the rest of Mr. Opperman's statement, in which he said that the number of people entering would be controlled by careful assessment of the individual's qualifications, and

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in a foreign policy statement by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Honourable E. G. Whitlam, Q.C., M.P., House of Representatives, Canberra, May 24, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

that the basic aim of preserving a homogeneous population would be preserved. He stressed that the changes “were not intended to depart from the basic principles of our policy which they qualify and modify in a special way, rather than revoke.”<sup>6</sup>

In the last few years, however, many Australians have become more critical of national immigration policy in all its aspects, as concern about the environment, urban congestion and relations with neighbouring countries in the Pacific has increased. As well as criticism of the White Australia policy, there has been a good deal of critical discussion about the size of the annual immigration movement and the effect this has on the quality of life in Australia; and much more questioning about the adaptation of immigrants to Australian life, the kind of help they and their children get in language training and other areas, and the degree to which they develop a real commitment to Australia itself.<sup>7</sup> The Australian Labor Party’s 1971 platform on immigration reflects these concerns. It is important, therefore, to see exactly what it contains.

The 1971 policy statement on immigration states first that the Australian Labor Party supports an immigration policy administered with sympathy, understanding and tolerance. This policy is to be based on six major principles namely 1) Australia’s national and economic security, 2) the capacity to provide employment, housing, education and social services, 3) the welfare and integration of all her citizens, 4) the preservation of Australia’s democratic system and the balanced development of the nation, 5) the avoidance of the difficult social and economic problems which may follow from an influx of peoples having different standards of living, traditions and cultures, and 6) the avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality. First priority, for humanitarian reasons, is to be given to the reunion of families. No test of acceptability will be applied for immediate dependents beyond sound health and good character. Residents of Australia will be able to sponsor other close relatives and people with recognized qualifications and experience commensurate with community needs. A second category of potential migrants will be considered “having regard to Australia’s national needs”. These applicants will have to show on assessment that 1) they will be economically viable in Australia, 2) they have the personal qualities that will enable them to fit into the Australian community, 3) they are medically fit, 4) they have a satisfactory character record, and 5) they have a sincere intention of making a permanent home in Australia and joining the Australian family through citizenship.

#### NEW POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

These premises and criteria were taken a stage further by the Whitlam government during its first year of office, and emerged in the form of a remarkable research and action program in immigration which was presented to the House of Representatives by the then Minister for Immigration, Mr. A. J. Grassby on October 11, 1973. His speech, entitled “A Report on Migration, Citizenship, Settlement and Population”, listed a range of research activities and planned

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in a speech to a Youth and Student Seminar, Canberra, May 28, 1966, published in *Migration News*, No. I, 1967.

<sup>7</sup> See *How Many Australians?*, Report of the 37th Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science, Canberra, 1971.

program developments which the Minister described as “a national stock-taking of immigration” in which the Department of Immigration, the Immigration Planning, Advisory and Publicity Councils, the State Task Forces set up by the Minister to study settlement problems, and the Good Neighbour Councils, which are discussed later in this paper, were all to be actively engaged.<sup>8</sup>

On the policy and program side, the Labor Party’s policy statement had been translated into new immigration policies as well as plans for new or improved services and programs for immigrants. Racial discrimination had been removed and Australia’s immigration policy had become universal, like those of Canada and the United States. Although this very important policy change has been made, however, it seems unlikely that the number of non-Europeans admitted to Australia will increase dramatically in the next year or two, particularly in view of the recent cut back in the total numbers to be admitted. Despite this major development in immigration policy, it is probable that there is still a good deal of opposition in Australia to the idea of a multi-racial society. Indeed, the reference in the Labor Party’s 1971 statement on immigration to “the avoidance of difficult social and economic problems which may follow from an influx of peoples having different standards of living, traditions and cultures” suggests that this is the case. Informed opinion in Australia has suggested that what is likely to happen now is a fairly steady, but non-spectacular increase in the admission of non-Europeans, growing faster perhaps as Australia develops closer relations with her neighbours in Asia and the Pacific region.

The Minister also announced a new admission policy providing for three categories of migrants:

- Immediate family members sponsored by people already resident in Australia.
- Other sponsored migrants including non-dependent relatives and friends.
- Unsponsored migrants, with or without relatives or friends in Australia, with the qualifications and experience required to meet Australia’s national needs.

The highest priority was to be given to the reunion of immediate family members. The criteria for assessment in all three categories were the same as those in the Labor Party’s policy statement. Mr. Grassby also announced that the Department of Immigration was undergoing a major process of reorganization to give effect to these new policies, and that a new “Structured Selection Assessment System” was now in operation, intended to provide more accurate and reliable assessment procedures which would exclude prospective migrants whose chances of succeeding in Australia are poor.

On the research side, these developments — several of which were initiated by the previous government — included a three-year National Population Inquiry due to be completed in the fall of 1974; a two-year inquiry into the departure of settlers from Australia completed in July 1973<sup>9</sup>; an inquiry into all aspects of discrimination

<sup>8</sup> Report on Migration, Citizenship, Settlement and Population by the Honourable A. J. Grassby, M.P., Minister for Immigration, tabled in the House of Representatives, Canberra, October 11, 1973.

<sup>9</sup> Immigration Advisory Council, Committee on Social Patterns, Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers from Australia, Final Report, Canberra, July 1973.



against migrants and the extent to which migrants use community services; study of ways in which a new and more vital role could be developed for the Good Neighbour Councils<sup>10</sup>; and regional and local inquiries by the State Task Forces into “the grass roots problems facing migrants”.

In the final part of his report to the House of Representatives, Mr. Grassby outlined the major improvements either planned or already being made in post-arrival services and programs for migrants. There was to be a special emphasis on more effective communication with migrants already in Australia and much more assistance for them in the settlement and adjustment process. The new or expanded services and programs included English language training for adults and children, teacher education and training, migrant education centres, welfare services for migrants, interpreter services in the state capitals, funding of voluntary agencies and increased financial support for the Good Neighbour Councils. Another significant element in this new group of policies and programs was the recent reform in Australian citizenship law, establishing citizenship for the first time “on the basis of one criterion, one national allegiance, one citizenship and one ceremony” in a new Australian Citizenship Act passed earlier that year.

This impressive list of plans and policies presented to the house by the then Minister of Immigration in October 1973 seemed to amount to a second major exercise in immigration planning and development (with more emphasis on long-term settlement), the first having occurred towards the end of and in the years immediately following the Second World War. Indeed, Mr. Grassby’s report was couched in those terms and he referred warmly to Arthur Calwell, Minister of Immigration at that time who “seized, from the aftermath of war, the opportunity to build a new nation” and launched Australia’s vigorous post-war immigration program. Such impressions, however, have been short-lived and the turn of events in Australian politics has now presented us with a very different scenario. But before we examine the developments which have occurred during the past few months, we should look at the evolution of Australian immigration policy and at Australia’s post-war immigration program and management.

#### PURPOSES AND EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRATION POLICY

Australia — almost the same size as the United States excluding Alaska and Hawaii — is also a nation of immigrants and migration has always been a basic element in Australian life. The first settlers arrived from Britain with the First Fleet on January 20, 1788, when there may have been some three hundred thousand to a million native people living in this then remote and ancient continent. Australia’s mainly British population grew slowly at first from a total of 5,217 in 1800 to 33,543 in 1820 and 190,408 in 1840, but began to expand rapidly with the discovery of gold in the 1850s, trebling in a decade from 405,356 in 1850 to 1,145,585 ten years later. The Australian gold rushes of the 1850s brought thousands of settlers, fortune hunters and migratory labourers from Europe, America and Asia including large numbers of Chinese. This large and continuing inflow of people of many races which brought the population to over three million by 1900, and the tensions and problems which it produced, caused a growing alarm and distrust of minorities

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<sup>10</sup> See page 32.

among existing settlers, a sharpening of racial antagonism, together with a fear of economic competition and low wages. As in the United States, an initial period of free and open migration was to be followed by a long period of restriction. By the 1880s, the states were passing restrictive immigration legislation and in 1901, the year after the six Australian colonies came together to form a federation,<sup>11</sup> one of the early acts of the new federal parliament was to pass the Immigration Restriction Act referred to earlier. The Act prohibited the entry of seven classes of persons, of which the first consisted of those who failed to pass a “dictation test” in a European language, a now well-known device for excluding non-Europeans which was finally abolished in 1958.

Immigration, now predominately British, continued at very moderate levels through the next 40 years declining sharply during the depression. Immigration had in fact become less important in Australian life towards the end of the 19th century and by the outbreak of the Second World War, immigrants accounted for only 11 per cent of the total population. Of this total population only one-tenth was of non-British descent, mainly German and Italian. A well-known Australian social historian and demographer has described the society which emerged from the first 40 years of federation, with its characteristically British way of life and predominately British institutions:

At the outbreak of World War II, the Australian people was basically “British-Australian”, a curious mixture of British peoples and traditions, slowly developing a distinctive Australian character. Moreover, most Australians looked askance at anything else. The bulk of the population were descended from migrants of lower middle-class and laboring background; classes which had little experience of other peoples and cultures and tended to be suspicious of anything strange or different. Geographical isolation merely aggravated this. As a consequence non-British immigrants were looked at suspiciously, being expected to learn English immediately, to refrain from forming immigrant groups and societies, and to intermix and intermarry with British-Australians. Complete assimilation in one generation was the philosophy behind Australian attitudes to newcomers. Even immigrants from the United Kingdom were expected to conform, those who kept their English accent or opinions too long receiving the name “Pommy”, sometimes as a term of affection, but more often as a term of abuse.<sup>12</sup>

#### POST-WAR IMMIGRATION PROGRAM

By 1945, this special kind of post-colonial society had undergone a powerful and traumatic wartime experience including the threat of invasion in 1942, and the collapse of a traditional security system on which the country had long relied. On August 2, 1945, when the war was about to end, Australia’s first Minister of Immigration, Arthur A. Calwell announced, on behalf of the wartime Labor government, a large scale post-war immigration program designed to strengthen national security and economic development by increased population growth; to meet post-war labour shortages; and to fill the serious gaps in the age structure of the existing population. This program was to involve diversifying Australia’s

<sup>11</sup> *The Commonwealth of Australian Constitution Act*, July 9, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> Charles A. Price, *Migrants in Australian Society*, H.R.H., The Duke of Edinburgh’s Third Commonwealth Study Conference, Australia, 1968.

migrant sources while keeping a British majority; resuming and extending the pre-war assisted passage schemes for migrants to offset the cost of a long journey and competition from other receiving countries; providing short-term accommodation for assisted migrants who needed it; and, in a remarkable piece of political innovation at that time, formally consulting with and involving the Australian community in this nation-building exercise.

A small planning staff was set up within the new federal Department of Immigration and a blueprint was worked out for a substantial degree of community participation in the form of Immigration Advisory, Planning and (later on) Publicity Councils, Good Neighbour Councils as a means of co-ordinating and stimulating voluntary efforts for immigrants, citizenship conventions, and other developments. The Immigration Advisory Council was set up in 1947 and the Immigration Planning Council in 1949. The Good Neighbour Councils were created shortly afterwards and the other plans were implemented in due course. The Immigration Publicity Council was set up in 1962.

This consultative machinery and design for involving the Australian community in a major effort in planned population growth and national development have clearly worked very well. The national consensus behind Australia's post-war immigration program which has been such a striking aspect of it, at least until recently, and the remarkable changes which have taken place since the war in community attitudes towards newcomers, did not occur spontaneously. They have been the result of this very creative effort in planning and public education on the part of Australian politicians and officials.

The original target proposed by Mr. Calwell in 1945 was to increase Australia's population through immigration by 1 per cent per annum and this has remained the official goal throughout the post-war period, until the Labor government's recent decision to restrict immigration. Initially, it was proposed to admit British and European migrants in a ratio of 10:1, but the urgent needs of European refugees, and shortages of shipping from Britain immediately after the war, led to a major policy change permitting the entry of some 200,000 displaced persons from many European countries between 1948 and 1951. This successful refugee movement paved the way in the early 1950s for a much broader recruitment program which still called for a majority of British settlers, but attempted to maintain a reasonable balance between different European nationalities.

In the operational area, a major feature of Australia's post-war immigration program has been a firm belief in the value of direct bilateral agreements with the countries of emigration, permitting a reasonably secure and agreed flow of migrants, negotiated directly or in conjunction with the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM). These agreements were negotiated from the early 1950s onwards. A migration agreement between Australia and Italy, for example, came into force in August 1951 and was progressively extended to January 1964, and a further agreement was signed in September 1967 to operate for an initial period of five years. Australia now has migration agreements or special migration arrangements with Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, Malta, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia. However, the new immigration policies which have now been adopted may well bring about significant changes in this method of management. Greater operational flexibility will now be required and it seems unlikely that further bilateral agreements will be negotiated.



At the same time, in an apparently sudden and surprising move, Australia withdrew from ICEM as of December 31, 1973. The principal reason given by the Australian government for this action was that with the changing pattern of immigration into Australia and the new immigration policies giving priority to family reunion and sponsored migration, Australia should now “attain self-sufficiency in respect of movement of migrants” and that it was no longer appropriate for Australia to remain a member of ICEM.<sup>13</sup>

#### Assisted Passage Schemes

Assisted passage schemes, which have a long history and initially applied to Britain only, have been another major foundation on which Australia’s post-war immigration program has been built. They have been a vital part of the agreements and arrangements negotiated with individual countries or have taken the form of larger, unilateral programs. Immediately after the war, two migration agreements were negotiated between the Australian and British governments which came into operation in March 1947. One provided for the grant of free passage to British ex-servicemen and their dependents and was terminated in February 1955. The other agreement has been in operation until very recently. Under this scheme, each British migrant who was 19 years or over contributed £10 sterling towards his or her passage costs. Migrants who were under 19 years of age made no contribution. The Australian government met all but a small fraction of the balance of the transport costs. Between January 1947 and June 1971, 991,431 British migrants arrived in Australia under the U.K. Assisted Passage Agreement.

The major unilateral assisted passage scheme still in operation at the time of writing is the Special Passage Assisted Program (S.P.A.P.) which was introduced in 1966 and provides financial assistance for European and some other migrants, ineligible under other schemes, of up to \$A335 for those who are 19 years or over and up to \$A360 for those who are under 19 years of age. A similar program was recently established for North and South America. Between January 1947 and June 1971, 791,354 migrants from countries other than the United Kingdom — mainly European countries — arrived in Australia under assisted passage schemes.

In addition to assisted passage schemes, both the federal and state governments have provided initial accommodation for migrants if needed. Many British and non-British assisted migrants, nominated by the Commonwealth government rather than by relatives and friends, have been provided with temporary accommodation by Commonwealth Hostels Ltd., a non-profit making, government-sponsored company which was set up in 1952 and now reports to the Minister of Housing. The total hostel capacity is now about 17,000 and a further 1,850 migrants nominated by the Commonwealth can now be accommodated in self-contained flats. Hostel accommodation has been available to families for up to twelve months while tenancies of flats have been limited to six months. British assisted migrants nominated by state governments have been provided with initial accommodation in reception centres operated by the state immigration authorities, the Commonwealth government contributing to the capital cost on a dollar for dollar basis.

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<sup>13</sup> The former Minister for Immigration, Mr. A. J. Grassby, answering a question in the House of Representatives, September 12, 1973.

A further important element in Australia's post-war immigration program has been the Australian overseas migration service which, like its Canadian counterpart, has worked with considerable energy and dedication to implement immigration goals. Because immigration has been much higher on the Australian national agenda throughout the post-war period, this service has been better equipped, better financed, and on the whole, better integrated with other Australian overseas operations than our Canadian service, until the major changes in Canadian immigration policy and management beginning in 1967. The future of the Australian overseas service has now, however, become somewhat uncertain. At the time of writing, no decision has been taken, following the demise of the Department of Immigration, as to which government department it should be attached.

#### Long-Term Planning

This post-war national effort has produced the greatest sustained migration in Australia's history and a remarkable degree of population growth.<sup>14</sup> Concern in the international community over the exclusion of non-white immigrants until the reforms of 1966 and 1973 has tended to divert attention from this considerable achievement. From mid-1947 when the population stood at 7,579,358 to mid-1966 when it had risen to 11,544,691, over two million settlers arrived in Australia. Of this population increase of just under four million, some 55 per cent was due to post-war settlers and their children. Today, Australia's population is over 13 million of whom 20 per cent were born overseas and one person in four in Australia is a post-war migrant or the child of a post-war migrant. A quarter of the six million children born since the Second World War belong to families in which one or both parents were born overseas, and of some 2.2 million marriages since the Second World War, over 350,000 have been between the Australian and overseas born.

The goal of 1 per cent annual population increase through net immigration has not been achieved in terms of actual numbers except from time to time, but is felt to have been very valuable as a target. In November 1966, the Immigration Planning Council established a Committee on Long-Term Planning in response to a request from the then Minister for Immigration, Mr. B. M. Snedden, that the Council should look ahead and report on longer-term immigration requirements as well as advising him on the annual immigration program. The Committee submitted its report in June 1968 and it is interesting to note its major conclusions.<sup>15</sup> The Committee stated that its inquiry and recommendations should be seen in the context of some 20 years of planned immigration which had started in 1947 and that:

In this period the evidence showed clearly that immigration had received the unqualified backing of successive Australian governments, both as a national policy and in the direction of full financial support for its implementation. There had been a high degree of co-operation between all government departments and instrumentalities involved, and the Commonwealth Department of Immigration had been most flexible in initiating new policies and developments to meet changing conditions and circumstances.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix C, "Australian Immigration: Permanent Settlement, 1945-73".

<sup>15</sup> Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council, *Australia's Immigration Programme for the Period 1968 to 1973*, Report to the Minister of State for Immigration, The Honourable B. M. Snedden, Q.C. M.P., tabled in the House of Representatives, September 10, 1968.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

The importance of formulating numerical targets some years ahead, the Committee believed, lay only in giving “broad guides of what would appear to be desirable programs”, and actual immigration programs for individual years should continue to be established in the light of prevailing conditions.

In addition:

Progressively higher levels of annual immigration programs were, in principle, quite practicable objectives, but if the traditional concept of an annual one per cent increase to population from net immigration was to be retained, there should be sustained and expanded effort in the field of recruitment, increased flexibility of methods, and special measures implemented of an economic and social character to attract migrants and to hold them once they arrived in Australia.<sup>17</sup>

The Committee believed that there was a distinct correlation between the success of migration programs and such major social factors as housing requirements and social service benefits, and that this was particularly true today “as Australia had lost much of its former relative attractiveness in terms of the employment, wage levels and the standard of living it could offer compared with those of migrants’ home countries or of Australia’s competitors”. Action was necessary, therefore “to improve Australia’s attractiveness through the taking of measures that might appear, *prima facie*, as special privileges to new settlers, but in reality did nothing more than offset the disadvantages at which resettlement placed migrants vis-à-vis indigenous Australians. Continuation of these disadvantages placed severe limits on Australia’s ability to attract and hold migrants.”<sup>18</sup>

The Committee was concerned about competition, noting that “Australia had to face serious competition from other migrant-receiving countries particularly from the North American continent which enjoyed substantial geographical and other advantages with consequent cheaper travel and ease of return visits to Europe”. The Committee was also concerned about the increasing degree of “settler and non-settler loss”, the high rate of departures in recent years of immigrants and Australian residents departing permanently. Unlike Canada and the United States, Australia has from the early years on recorded departures very carefully, and immigration is calculated on the basis of the net gain obtained from the sum of total arrivals over total departures.

The problems of the departure of settlers from Australia which has been a matter of considerable concern was examined twice by the Committee on Social Patterns of the former Immigration Advisory Council, first in 1966-67 and secondly, in a more substantial way, in 1971-73. The Committee’s final report was presented to the Minister for Immigration, Mr. Grassby, in July 1973 with a progress report four months earlier.<sup>19</sup> In this report, the Committee concluded that Australia’s post-war immigration program had been an historic achievement and one of the greatest planned movements of population in modern times. Its benefits to Australia had been incalculable. Inevitably such a movement produces problems, but the Committee did not feel that Australia’s rate of migrant departure was unusually

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>19</sup> Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, Committee on Social Patterns, *Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers from Australia*, Final Report, July 1973.



high compared with other receiving countries, but did merit very serious attention — they estimated the rate of settler loss at 23 per cent for the years 1966-71. The main thrust of the Committee's recommendations was for substantial improvements in services for Australian migrants over a wide front, and there can be no doubt that these recommendations were very influential in the development of the new policies and programs in the immigrant service area announced by the former Minister in the following October.

## LAW AND MANAGEMENT

Australia's method of managing immigration has been very much closer to the Canadian system than it has to the American, but with a much greater degree thus far of overall planning, federal-state co-operation and public participation, as well as more government initiative and leadership in relation to the settlement and adjustment of immigrants. As already mentioned, immigration has been a good deal higher on the national agenda in Australia than it has in Canada, and has therefore been able to command more resources and more concern at the political level. A greater effort has been made on a continuous basis to attract immigrants, and more inducements have been offered to them in order to offset geographical distance and competition from other receiving countries. Nevertheless, the style and method of managing immigration has been similar in both countries, and the central foundation on which it rests is administration and not law as in the United States. The role of the bureaucracy has therefore been a very significant one and parliament itself has played a lesser part.<sup>20</sup>

Until the major changes which took place following the general election of May 1974, described later in this paper, in which immigration has been merged with labour to form a new Department of Labor and Immigration, immigration in Australia has been managed by one federal department, the Department of Immigration, in co-operation with the states' governments. The responsibilities of this department included overseas operations, as well as the domestic management of immigration.

### Commonwealth and State Responsibilities

The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act of July 9, 1900 provides that the federal parliament has power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to naturalization and aliens and immigration and emigration. Although immigration is a federal responsibility and has been largely managed by a federal department, the states have always played an important role in it, although in recent years their actual responsibilities in relation to admission have been limited to certain areas of assisted migration from Britain. These areas have accounted, however, for some 60 per cent of British assisted migration. All states except Tasmania have also provided migrant reception centres for their own nominees.

<sup>20</sup> The Australian federal parliament does not have a standing parliamentary committee on immigration, but has two separate committees, one for the government and the other for the opposition, known as the Government Members Immigration Committee and the Opposition Members Immigration Committee.

Many matters relating to the settlement and adjustment of migrants in Australia are subject to state laws administered by state agencies, and there has been close liaison in these and other matters between the state branch offices of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and the state migration offices. Conferences of Australian government and state government migration officials have been held regularly throughout the post-war period, and since 1968 until recently there have been regular meetings between the Australian government's Minister for Immigration and state government ministers on matters relating to immigration policy and programs. It is not known whether these will now continue following the recent merging of immigration with labour. In Britain, the state migration authorities are represented by the Agents-General in London whose offices are in close contact with Australia's Chief Migration Officer in the United Kingdom and his staff. There has been considerable co-operation also in the promotion field.

In four states, New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania, there are Immigration Advisory Committees or Councils which include representatives of the Australian and state government departments, employer organizations and trade union councils. Since 1952, the Australian government and the states have co-operated in the provision of migrant education, the former providing funds and technical direction and the latter facilities and teachers.

It is evident that the relationship between the Australian government and the states in immigration has been a very much closer one hitherto — subject to much more mutual consultation, exchange of information and joint action — than the relationship between the Canadian federal government and the provinces in this area. While there are certain similarities — in the field of shared responsibilities in language training for immigrants, for example, and to a limited extent in overseas operations — this relationship has been closer to a partnership or joint endeavour than the Canadian one has been so far.

There are marked similarities, however, in the two ageing immigration acts, of much the same vintage, on which Australia and Canada technically base their immigration policies. The Australian Migration Act of 1958, amended in 1964 and 1966, simply vests enormous powers in the Minister to permit or deny entry, to cancel a temporary entry permit at any time, to deport any prohibited immigrant and any immigrant whose conduct, whether in Australia or elsewhere, “has been such that he should not be allowed to remain in Australia”, subject to a review of the case by a Commissioner appointed by the Governor-General if the immigrant requests it. The Canadian Immigration Act of 1952 does much the same thing in a more elaborate way. Both acts are negative and discouraging documents. Both have been substantially modified by subsequent regulations. The departments responsible for immigration in the two countries have in each case drafted new acts from time to time, but nothing has come of it so far.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The Canadian Government now aims to produce a new Immigration Act following the publication of the Green Paper on immigration and population, and subsequent public discussion.

Canada has now joined the United States and Australia in examining immigration policies in the light of population growth and possible new approaches to economic development. One very interesting aspect of the immigration and population question in Australia is that it is of the same dimension as our own: small populations in a large land mass; the problems of populating a part-empty and part-arid continent and the problems of populating our middle regions and mainly inhospitable northern lands; the moral issue of living comfortably in an uncrowded country or making way reasonably quickly for some millions more of the world's exploding population; the problem of overcrowded cities with high concentrations of immigrants and empty rural areas not far away; the great difficulty of achieving effective overall economic planning, regional development and redistribution of population in democratic societies. Because these problems are so similar in Canada and Australia, we should keep in close touch with the progress of Australia's present and future policies in immigration, population growth and economic development.

The National Population Inquiry, directed by Professor W. D. Borrie of the Australian National University, will be completed late in 1974, but it is understood that the results will not be available until early in 1975. Its purpose is to determine long-term population strategies for Australia and to make recommendations on the best possible size, composition and distribution for Australia's population at various stages up to the year 2000.

In addition to these developments in the field of long-term population strategy and immigration policy, the Australian government has been moving in another direction in which there are also very interesting comparisons to be made with recent Canadian experience and concerns. This is the concept of growth centre development and the new cities program which was a major plank in the Labor Party's platform at the 1972 election. It is not known how this is being affected by the present economic stringency in Australia, but some progress has already been made. The problem was put very clearly by a speaker at a recent National Conference on Growth Centre Development which took place at Orange, New South Wales in September 1973.

Australia has thirteen million people. Nearly eight million of them live in and around the five largest cities. Notwithstanding possible changes in migration policy, it will be necessary to find places to live for something of the order of nine million additional people by the end of the century. If present trends continue, nearly seven million of them will be added to the five largest cities and Sydney will have almost five million people and Melbourne more than four and a half million. Those two cities, with at present two million fewer people each, are already thought by some to be beyond redemption. Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane, in that order, are beginning to see the danger signals. Where are the additional people to be put?<sup>22</sup>

For the first time in Australia, thought is being given to the distribution aspect of immigration linking it to the concept of relocating growth. Although herculean efforts have been made since the Second World War to bring immigrants to Australia, not very much thought has been given hitherto as to where they should

<sup>22</sup> R. C. Gates, University of Queensland, *The Growth Centre Concept*, National Conference on Growth Centre Development, Orange, September 7-9, 1973.



settle. As in Canada, the former Australian Department of Immigration never directed the regular flow of immigrants to particular cities or regions, and although the resulting pattern of immigrant distribution between states and territories has been a rather more balanced one than in Canada, it has still resulted in a concentration of immigrants in the largest cities and particularly in Sydney and Melbourne.

A new federal Department of Urban and Regional Development, together with the National Capital Development Commission which has been responsible for the planning and development of Canberra, and a new Cities Commission set up last year have begun work, in collaboration with the states, on an overall urban and regional development strategy for Australia which includes the development of regional growth centres and the building of new cities. Since we have very similar problems in Canada, it will be very interesting to see whether, to what extent and in what way, Australia succeeds in alleviating the problems of urban congestion, relocating growth and population and attracting immigrants to the new growth centres.

#### SERVICES FOR IMMIGRANTS

As noted already, Australia has done more, throughout the post-war period, to facilitate the settlement and adjustment of immigrants than we have in Canada, although the previous level of services and programs has now clearly proved inadequate. Hitherto, the Department of Immigration has provided certain services, including language training for migrants, translation and interpreter services in the Department's state and central offices, as well as the services of some 50 social workers, welfare officers and several psychologists located also in the state offices and in Canberra. In addition, the remarkable invention of Good Neighbour Councils deserves comment.

There are now eight Good Neighbour Councils in the six states and two territories of Australia which are funded by the Commonwealth Government but operate as autonomous voluntary organizations. Their principal purpose is to co-ordinate the activities of voluntary agencies and community groups who are working with immigrants throughout Australia. Some Councils offer direct services for immigrants. In 1972, grants from the Commonwealth government were sufficient to cover the administrative costs involved in maintaining central offices in the capital cities, ten regional offices and five sub-offices as well as the salaries of some 70 staff members. At the same time, the Councils worked with more than 900 organizations and maintained a network of 86 branches and more than 500 voluntary representatives in cities and towns. In the voluntary sector, where co-ordination is exceedingly difficult, this is a considerable achievement and it shows what can be done with continuing leadership and assistance from government together with proper financing.

## New Plans and Projects

Since Canada has been looking critically in the last year or two at the quality of service and degree of help which it provides for immigrants, perhaps we should look finally — in more detail — at some of the ways in which these Australian services and programs for immigrants are now being improved and extended. As we have seen, these new developments were described in the former Minister of Immigration's report to the House of Representatives in October 1973. First of all it is interesting to note that the areas of concern are very similar to ours. One of the most important is language training for immigrant adults and children and the supporting programs and facilities which should go with this, like teacher training and, in Australia, migrant education centres. In this area, before it disappeared from the scene, the Department of Immigration's budget recently increased from \$A1 million to \$A16 million.

Major developments have been under way in child migrant education where expenditure is expected to reach \$A10.4 million. A special diploma course in migrant education for teachers has been under consideration as well as a plan for "integration fellowships" so that qualified teachers from the principal source countries can spend some time in Australian schools to assist in the teaching of young immigrants. Migrant education centres are now operating in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth providing the administrative headquarters for a variety of language training programs for adults and children and for radio and correspondence courses. An Australia-wide "migrant education television program" is now being produced and a national home tutor scheme is being introduced for immigrant women at home. There are other interesting developments in the language training field.

Australia's first emergency telephone service for immigrants which has been operating very successfully on a seven day week, 24 hours a day basis in Sydney and Melbourne since last February, and has met an obviously urgent community need, is now being extended to other state capitals. In the area of individual counselling, 48 new multilingual welfare officers have recently been appointed to work in the immigrant communities of all states, and grants to voluntary agencies have been increased so that individual counselling and welfare services for immigrants can be expanded.

Increased financial support is also being provided to the Good Neighbour Councils and possible new directions in their activities are now being studied. One other interesting development is the provision in Australia for the first time of a training course for those who work in the immigration field — something we need very badly in Canada. This is a twelve month course introduced a year ago which provides a Certificate in Migrant Welfare. The first students have been government officials but it is understood that this is now to be extended to the voluntary sector also.

At the time of writing, it is not yet known how these new plans and projects will be affected by the changes in immigration policy and management introduced by the Labor Government since the May general election. These developments will now be described.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

As already indicated, further changes have taken place in Australian immigration within the last few months which have entirely altered its traditional management and changed or modified at least some of its basic objectives.

Following the failure of the Senate to pass certain bills which the government regarded as essential, the Prime Minister announced on April 11, 1974, that an election for both Houses of Parliament would be held on May 18. In this general election, instead of the broad mandate it sought, the Whitlam government was returned to office with a majority of only five in the House of Representatives. In the Senate, Labor obtained 29 seats, the Liberal/Country Party opposition obtained 29 and two independents were elected, both former Liberals. The former Minister for Immigration, Mr. A. J. Grassby, a vigorous and colourful politician and strong supporter of immigration, lost his seat of Riverina. In the subsequent Cabinet reorganization, immigration was merged with labour into a combined Department of Labor and Immigration under the former Minister for Labor, Mr. Clyde Cameron. There was apparently no prior consultation regarding this move either with officials of the former Department of Immigration or with the Department's advisory bodies. The scene is very reminiscent of the period between December 1965 and October 1966 when Canada's former Department of Citizenship and Immigration died a sudden death and a new Department of Manpower and Immigration was created.<sup>23</sup>

As we have seen, Australia's Department of Immigration had been responsible in the past for nearly all the government's policies and programs relating to immigrants at home and overseas. These responsibilities are now being scattered among a group of departments. Immigration policy and management, in the sense of the selection, processing, admission and employment of immigrants, as well, presumably, as control and enforcement, are now the responsibility of the new Department of Labor and Immigration. But welfare services for immigrants have been transferred to the Department of Social Security. Migrant Education is now the responsibility of the Department of Education. Information (relating to immigration) has gone to the Department of the Media and passports to the Department of Foreign Affairs. At the time of writing, no decision has been taken relating to the location of responsibility for the overseas service; citizenship and aliens registration; translations, interpreter services and related activities; responsibility for the National Population Inquiry and related studies and research; or for the remaining advisory bodies, the Immigration Planning and Publicity Councils (if they are to survive). There has been mention, however, of new advisory councils concerned with the integration of immigrants to be set up by the Ministers of Social Security and Education.

It is evident that these drastic changes have had a rather cool reception in Australia, particularly in those sectors of the community which are particularly concerned about immigrants, including ethnic groups, the Good Neighbour Councils and community agencies generally. The Liberal Party has already announced that it will reconstitute the Department of Immigration when returned to power. It is known that, prior to the demise of the Immigration Advisory Council,

<sup>23</sup> See the author's study, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, Montreal, McGill-Queens Press, 1972, "Birth of the Department of Manpower and Immigration", pp. 150-156.



which had become a very expert body in immigration, its members expressed deep misgivings about the dissolution of the Department. Although many reasons are given for this move by the government, both practical and personal, there appears to be a general feeling that if Mr. Grassby had not lost his seat, the Department of Immigration would still be alive and well.

No doubt to assuage this critical response and soften the blow to immigrants and their organizations of Mr. Grassby's departure, the Prime Minister announced two months after the May election that the former Minister of Immigration had been appointed as Special Consultant on Community Relations to the Government, and future Commissioner of an organization to be set up on the form of legislation to be presented to Parliament. His task would be to lay the foundations for legislative and administrative action to ensure the abolition of all forms of discrimination on the basis of race, colour or creed.

#### New Immigration Target

In order to achieve the new immigration target of 80,000 immigrants in 1974-75, consisting of 40,000 with assisted passages and 40,000 unassisted, which was announced by the Treasurer, Mr. Frank Crean, in mid-July, a significant reduction in the approval rate has been ordered.<sup>24</sup> Australian overseas immigration offices have been instructed to suspend the acceptance and processing of all applications, except those involving sponsored dependents, that is spouses, children, parents and fiancé(e)s of citizens and residents of Australia. The suspension does not apply to persons in employment categories for which there is a strong and unsatisfied demand in Australia, or to refugees. Applicants who have already completed immigration procedures and have passed their medical examination are being permitted to go forward. It has also been announced that, as from January 1, 1975, Australia will require all non-immigrants, with the exception of New Zealand citizens, to be in possession of non-immigrant visas in order to enter Australia for any length of time.

The Minister for Labor and Immigration issued a press statement on October 2, 1974, to explain these measures which, he said, had been taken with the welfare of all Australians and potential migrants in mind. Mr. Cameron said that he could not responsibly approve the entry of migrants who are likely to experience difficulty in finding and holding employment, and who would be competing with Australians and migrants already in Australia in tight sections of the labour market. His decision followed the long established policy of adjusting the immigration program to economic realities. As Mr. Grassby had maintained, the immigration program should be "finely tuned to the economy". Despite unemployment in some areas, however, there were fields of activity in Australia which were being hampered by the shortage of those with special skills. Consequently, nominations or applications in respect of workers in these employment categories for which there remained a strong and unsatisfied demand would continue to be considered. Mr. Cameron said that this group was a very limited one, however, comprising skilled metal and electrical tradesmen, other skilled tradesmen outside the metal and electrical group, and professional and semi-professional workers.

<sup>24</sup> It was recently announced that, in a forthcoming Cabinet reshuffle, to take place before the end of the present Parliamentary session, Mr. Frank Crean is to become Minister for Overseas Trade and Dr. Jim Cairns who now holds that portfolio will become Treasurer.

The Minister also said that he recognized that the suspension of nominations (of non-dependent relatives and friends) would cause disappointment and he regretted the necessity of doing so, and he added:

It would be damaging, and I would be acting contrary to the Party's platform, if I were to bring migrants here at this time when we cannot ensure that they will find long-term employment, and when in our inner city areas, where most new migrants settle, our education and community facilities are at present under heavy strain.

The Government is to keep this situation under constant review.<sup>25</sup>

#### Manpower Policy Orientation

This major upheaval in Australian immigration is too recent to be assessed with any degree of accuracy at this stage. One thing, however, seems certain and that is the strong manpower policy orientation which Australian immigration policy will have from now on. The Minister of Labor and Immigration, Mr. Clyde Cameron, has made his views known on the future composition of Australia's immigration movement on several occasions in the last few months, and it is clear that he favours "the best skilled workers", as he put it, the least possible number of relatives and determined recruitment in Northern Europe. He is on record as saying that the best possible skilled workers are now to be found in Denmark and West Germany (and also in the United Kingdom), and that they have the advantage of not bringing many relatives with them. In an interview in August, published in the Australian public affairs journal "New Accent", in which these views were expressed, he said that the great thing about Danish and West German tradesmen was that:

They come here under their own steam — well, that is with assisted passage — but they don't then bring out a whole string of brothers and sisters and close relatives who are without skills. They usually come on their own and that's the end of it.

When asked about source countries and whether he would be recruiting just as actively in Asia, as in Denmark and West Germany, and whether the criterion of skill alone would "sort out the problem of where you get these people", Mr. Cameron said that they (i.e., his department) would be actively campaigning with a recruitment program, in whatever country they thought they could get skilled workers from, but that they would need to be satisfied that, in the country of recruitment, the training procedures and standards met Australian standards and that practical experience matched training. A tripartite committee of experts had been sent to the Philippines recently to study training systems and methods and had reported very favourably. But the technical officer who was now there selecting suitable recruits had reported that their practical experience did not match the very high level of technical training they possessed; and Mr. Cameron added:

We're satisfied the Danes and the West Germans are the best of all. Perhaps you can add the U.K. So we'll try and get the best if we can. . . . I would say that the main thrust of our recruitment from now on will be in West Germany, Denmark and the U.K.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The Minister for Labor and Immigration, Mr. Clyde Cameron, Press Statement, Canberra, October 2, 1974.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Mr. Clyde Cameron, Minister of Labor and Immigration, by Alan Ramsey and Kenneth Randall, *New Accent*, Canberra, August 2, 1974.

The obviously disturbing aspects of these recent policy changes to many Australians, and certainly to an outside observer, are first the sudden dismantling of a very experienced department — and Mr. Whitlam himself has said that the Department of Immigration had many skills which must be retained;<sup>27</sup> secondly, the scattering of its various responsibilities for immigrants when these have always been conveniently located in one federal department; thirdly, the loss of the almost equally experienced Immigration Advisory Council; and fourthly, what seems to be the emergence, for the time being at least, of a very determined manpower approach to immigration, proven in Canada after several years experience to be very inadequate as a total approach to this complicated area of public policy. It may be some comfort to know that, since the days in 1966 when the Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration was created, with an Immigration Division reduced to very small proportions and few direct responsibilities in Canada, a major effort of rehabilitation has had to be made. The Immigration Division is now being reorganized and expanded, its responsibilities have been increased considerably and its old Settlement Branch (dismissed in 1966) has been restored to life. These are, however, very early days in relation to the major changes which have just been made in Australian immigration, and it is by no means clear yet what further adjustments may be made, or how the new combined Department of Labor and Immigration will be organized.

#### CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

It has been suggested in this study that we should, for many reasons, keep in close touch with developments in immigration in Australia. It is not generally known that we have, in fact, been in fairly close communication with Australia in immigration matters in the last two or three years, but at the governmental level only. There have been two visits to Canada by Australian Ministers for Immigration, one visit to Australia by a Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, several visits by officials in both directions, a regular exchange of information, and now an 18-month exchange visit involving a senior official of the former Australian Department of Immigration and one from our Department of Manpower and Immigration. In the early 1970s, Australia introduced “time-span surveys of migrants” using the same techniques employed in the Canadian longitudinal study of immigrants. The new Australian Structured Assessment System for immigrants owes a certain amount to the Canadian Points Assessment System. We in our turn have used Australia’s consultative machinery in part as a model for our Canada Manpower and Immigration Council and Advisory Boards.<sup>28</sup> There has always been considerable communication also at the overseas field level in what has been a long period of friendly competition in immigration. There are many ways, however, in which the degree of overall communication we now have could be extended to our mutual advantage.

<sup>27</sup> The Prime Minister, Press Conference, Canberra, July 2, 1974.

<sup>28</sup> We should perhaps have used this model more effectively. Legislation to reorganize the structure of the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council is now before Parliament.





## ISRAEL

According to the 1972 Census, the State of Israel which was founded in 1948 had a population of 3.2 million living within a total area of 20,770 square kilometres. By January 1974, this population level had risen to 3.3 million and seems likely to rise very substantially within the next few years if present immigration targets are achieved, war on a large scale is avoided, and no major political changes occur affecting Israel's security and national development. Since 1948, the Jewish population of Israel has almost quadrupled, while other population groups, Muslims (mainly Arabs), Christians, Druses and others, taken together, have nearly tripled in size. The Jewish population is mainly composed of immigrants and immigration has accounted for some 60 per cent of the total population increase among Jews in Israel since 1948. Almost half the present population of Israel lives in the coastal area — the cental and Tel Aviv districts — along a strip of some 60 kilometres; and 84 per cent live in towns and cities, with more than 50 per cent (some 1.6 million) in the ten largest cities, and more than a million in the Tel Aviv conurbation.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen per cent live in rural areas and 12 per cent now live in the Southern (mainly desert) district which in 1948 accounted for less than 1 per cent of Israel's population.<sup>2</sup>

Immigration, one of the principal foundations on which the Jewish state has been built, is a fundamental tenet of Zionism. The right of Jews to emigrate to Israel in substantial numbers has been fought for across this century. The Law of Return passed unanimously by the Knesset in July 1950 states that "Every Jew has the right to immigrate into the country". Only those who specifically act against the Jewish nation or threaten public health or state security may be denied a visa. This basic policy position has never changed. Today immigration "the ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland" is regarded as the most important area of public policy in Israel after security. With sustained migration for the rest of this century, Israel's present population could double by the year 2000. The Yom Kippur War and the loss of over 2,400 Israelis have clearly reinforced this major national objective.

The word for immigration in Hebrew is aliyah which means, very literally, "going up". The word for immigrant is oleh and olim in the plural. A very considerable effort has been expended to attract Jewish immigrants to Israel from every part of the world; to facilitate the movement of those who wish to come from any country; to permit temporary residence for a great many potential immigrants; and to absorb those who want to stay. For a period of three years, new immigrants are offered some very substantial privileges, together with immediate assistance of a very effective kind in language training, housing, job-finding and individual counselling.

<sup>1</sup> The Interior and Ecology Committee of the Knesset recently warned that Israel's security as well as its quality of life were being endangered by the excessive growth of population along the coastal strip and in the centre of the country, particularly in the light of recent terrorist attacks. The Committee urged greater economic development in the development townships in Galilee and the South. (*The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, November 5, 1974.)

<sup>2</sup> Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Second Enquiry on Population Growth and Development, Jerusalem, 1973.

This effort, though it brings many rewards both politically and economically, is costly. The cost of immigrant absorption in 1972 was estimated at IL2,300 million or about 8 per cent of GNP, or about 6.5 per cent of the total resources available for domestic uses. The cost of absorbing a family of three amounted to IL140,000. The most expensive and perhaps the most worrying item in the internal immigration budget is housing, and investment in this area amounted to IL900 million in 1972 — a third of Israel's total housing investment in that year.<sup>3</sup> But the cost of this continuous large-scale movement of people to Israel must also be seen in terms of the contribution and support of the Jews of the Diaspora, now probably nearly 12 million strong, who staunchly support aliyah as they do so much else. This effort should also be seen against the background of Israel's dynamic but tightrope economy, with its remarkable growth, but continuous reliance on foreign loans and community subventions; against the background of the recent substantial devaluation of the Israeli pound and severe austerity measures; and in the light of Israel's very large defence budget.<sup>4</sup>

As the result of an eight-day fund-raising mission to Europe, the United States and Canada during the Yom Kippur War by Israel's then Finance Minister Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Mr. Arye Dulzin, Acting Chairman of the Jewish Agency and Mr. Haim Laskov, former Chief of Staff, Jewish communities overseas have undertaken to mobilize two billion dollars for Israel up to the end of 1974. Speaking in the Knesset after the cease-fire, Mr. Sapir emphasized that these funds would be used both to pay for the war and to support Israel's social programs, including immigrant absorption. Without the generous support of the Jewish communities in the West, Mr. Sapir said, Israel simply could not meet these costs simultaneously.<sup>5</sup>

Among the many interesting aspects of Israel's immigration program, perhaps the most important from a comparative point of view are the following:

- The major investment from all sources and degree of domestic planning involved in this program of rapid population growth.
- The use of incentives in housing and employment to channel many immigrants to development areas.
- The special privileges offered to attract immigrants in the first place and the variety of services provided for them.
- The plans and programs for professional immigrants who now form a high proportion of the annual immigration movement.
- The fact that, despite the strong ideological commitment to the Jewish State on the part of a great many immigrants to Israel, initial adjustment problems and needs (and the services required to meet them) are very similar to those experienced by immigrants in other receiving countries.

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<sup>3</sup> Israel, Ministry of Immigration Absorption, Annual Report, Jerusalem, 1972.

<sup>4</sup> According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Israel's per capita defence budget is now the highest in the world — four times that of the United States.

<sup>5</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, November 20, 1973.



## THE CHANGING PATTERN OF ALIYAH<sup>6</sup>

Before 1948, the large wave of migration to Israel was predominantly European and at that time some 35 per cent of the Jews in Israel were born there. Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, there was a sharp decrease in European and Western Hemisphere migration to Israel, down to about 5 per cent in the 1950s and about 20 per cent in the 1960s, while the proportion of immigrants from Asia and Africa increased to over 50 per cent of the total movement. The proportion of North African and Asian-born out of all the Jews in Israel who were born abroad rose from 15 per cent in 1948, to 44 per cent in 1960 and to 48 per cent in 1971. At the same time the proportion of Jews born in Israel has risen steadily and now constitutes more than 47 per cent of the total Jewish population, about half of whom are of Asian and North African origin.

A remarkable change took place, however, in the national origins of Israeli immigrants following the Six Day War in June 1967, shifting back for several years, to the extent of more than 45 per cent, to the countries of Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere. This new movement of immigrants contained many more single persons than in the past and many more young people. It was in fact, to a considerable extent, a “pioneer aliyah” as in the early days — a direct response to the Six Day War, reflecting a strong desire on the part of many young Jewish people in the western world, to be involved with Israel in her present precarious situation of which they had only recently become acutely aware. This has proved, however, to be a rather temporary phenomenon. There were some interesting consequences in the field of adjustment which have been described by an official of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption in the following way:

This change in the composition of Olim by countries of origin has had a profound influence on all the other characteristics of the Olim. While in previous years a large proportion came from countries whose income per capita rate was near the bottom of the list of countries and only very few came from countries with high per capita income, recently about 40 per cent arrive from the dozen or so countries with the highest per capita income in the world. Furthermore, the Olim themselves, even from the poorer countries, nowadays come mainly from the higher socio-economic classes. This means that while previously most of the Olim came to Israel to a higher standard of living, a higher standard of civilization and culture, today a considerable number of Olim, by coming to Israel, forego a higher living standard or at least prospects for a higher standard in the future. They are also accustomed to all kinds of public facilities which usually are to be found in richer and highly civilized countries. Therefore a considerable percentage of Olim nowadays have to adjust their standards of living downwards which is presumably more difficult than is an upward adjustment.<sup>7</sup>

In 1970, immigration from Western Europe, Asia and Africa began to decline sharply, and in 1972 immigration from North America showed a marked decrease following continuous growth since the Six Day War. Immigration from Latin America has also been declining, except from Argentina and Uruguay. Declining immigration from all these areas, however, has been replaced by a remarkable movement of immigrants from the Soviet Union — the outcome of a sustained

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix D, “Israel: Jewish Immigration, 1948-73”.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Ephraim Ahiram, Head of the Research and Planning Division, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, “The Absorption of Immigrants”, *Israel Year Book*, 1970.

political campaign at the international level and considerable efforts by Soviet Jews themselves — which started in terms of large numbers in December 1971. Thirteen thousand Soviet Jews migrated to Israel in 1971 and 32,000 in 1972. From 1969 to the end of 1973, a total of 83,755 immigrants from the Soviet Union had arrived in Israel. In addition to this increase in numbers, immigrants have been coming from a wider range of Soviet republics and regions.

In October 1974, however, a major breakthrough occurred which, if all went well, seemed likely to bring a much larger wave of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel. This was the successful conclusion of the Jackson Amendment, tabled in Congress over two years ago, whereby the Soviet Union agreed to lift its barriers against Jewish emigration, permitting a minimum of 60,000 to leave each year, in return for a major expansion of trade with the United States, the extension to the U.S.S.R., of most-favoured nation trade status and other important trade concessions likely to lead to substantial American investment in the Soviet Union. This agreement could be revoked if the Congress (and not the Administration) found, after 18 months, that the Soviet Union had not carried out its part of the bargain.

Two months later, however, the U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger announced that the Soviet Union had rejected the 1972 commercial agreement with the United States. Moscow, Mr. Kissinger said, regarded the Trade Reform Act, recently passed in Congress, “as contravening both the 1972 agreement which had called for an unconditional elimination of discriminatory trade restrictions and the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs”. Commenting later on this very disappointing development, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, who is now the Chairman of the World Zionist and Jewish Agency Executive and Chairman of the Agency’s Aliyah Department, said that, in his view, the Soviet decision does not necessarily mean that the emigration of Soviet Jews will be halted. Speaking at a recent fund-raising meeting in London, he stressed that the picture was not at all clear and that he believed that there was a possibility that the Soviet Union would still leave the doors open for Jewish emigration. The World Zionist Executive also announced that the only response for Israel was to continue its struggle for Soviet Jewish emigration and to bolster the courage of Jews who wanted to leave.<sup>8</sup>

Because of the recent marked decline in emigration from the West to Israel, Mr. Sapir has been engaged throughout 1974 in special promotion campaigns to reverse this trend, in Western Europe, and North and South America. It is hoped to raise the level of emigration from the West and other regions to about 40,000 immigrants annually.

#### MANAGEMENT AND REGULATIONS

Until 1968, immigration and absorption, overseas and in Israel, were the exclusive responsibility of the Jewish Agency. In that year, a Ministry of Immigrant Absorption was created and assumed responsibility for the absorption of immigrants after their arrival in Israel. At the same time, the Jewish Agency, still responsible for all overseas recruitment and promotion, continued to maintain and run its network of initial absorption centres, immigrant hostels and language training schools, the “transitional institutions of absorption”. A Joint Commission now co-ordinates the work of the Ministry and of the Agency.

<sup>8</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, January 21, 1975.

The Jewish Agency today is a large and very influential organization with offices (now known as Israel Aliyah Centers) in many countries. Reconstituted in 1971, it now includes the Zionist Organization and all the Jewish fund-raising bodies and is said to represent "the partnership of the entire Jewish people in the survival of Israel and of the Jewish people as a whole". Since 1948, it has brought over 1.5 million Jews to Israel and established almost 500 agricultural settlements. Through its youth program, Youth Aliyah which was founded in 1934, it has brought in, since its inception, about 140,000 Jewish children from 80 countries. Today over 9,000 children and young people are receiving academic, vocational and agricultural education in 246 villages and institutions in Israel. The Jewish Agency's budget for 1972-73 was \$465 million, the main items being in round figures: immigration and absorption — \$57 million; immigrant housing — \$149.6 million; social welfare — \$28 million; health services — \$34.3 million; education and higher learning — \$106 million; care of youth — \$19 million; absorption in agricultural settlement — \$33.3 million.

#### Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

The original idea behind the creation in 1968 of a Ministry of Immigrant Absorption was that the Israeli government itself should be officially involved in and take charge of this vital sector of public policy. Arriving late on the scene, the Ministry was initially envisaged as a co-ordinating body — co-ordinating the work of the other powerful ministries then involved in immigrant absorption (Ministries of Labor, Housing, Education and Culture, Social Welfare, etc.). In order to have sufficient authority to carry out this co-ordinating role, the first Minister of Immigrant Absorption was the Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon. However, co-ordination as a major role proved difficult and unsatisfactory, and the Ministry has moved more and more in an operational direction, although it has not yet acquired complete powers of management in this very important field. One illustration of this can be seen in the fact that, although the Ministry is responsible for immigrants from the moment they arrive at Lod Airport, the "transitional institutions of absorption" are still managed by the Jewish Agency and this joint jurisdiction evidently causes some confusion among immigrants and multiplies the authorities with whom they have to deal.<sup>9</sup>

Immigration control is managed by the Ministry of the Interior. There is a Law of Entry as well as a Law of Return and it is possible to refuse admission to Jews who are considered undesirable and to deport others whose behaviour in Israel is unacceptable or threatening. Crime, for example, has been increasing in Israel as elsewhere in recent years — there was very little of it in the 1950s — and the Ministry is now clearly much more alert to this problem and is not anxious to admit would-be immigrants with a serious criminal record in other countries. There have been several celebrated cases of this kind in the last two or three years. The Law of Return does not therefore provide a completely unqualified right of entry.

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption has four regional offices: Haifa and the North, Tel Aviv and the Centre, Jerusalem and the South, and Beersheva and the Negev, as well as more than 50 branch offices. As well as its general responsibility for immigrants after they arrive in Israel, the Ministry is responsible for immigrant housing and for employment (in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour), for the

<sup>9</sup> Steps are now being taken to deal with this problem. See page ( 51 ).



implementation of immigrants' rights and privileges in the initial three-year period, for advice and assistance to immigrants on any problems which may arise and for their satisfactory absorption into Israeli society. The regional and branch offices of the Ministry provide individual service to immigrants, who can also obtain help from a number of active immigrant associations which are funded in part by the Ministry.<sup>10</sup> The Ministry also gives financial assistance to local authority "absorption commissions" and to immigrant clubs in towns and development townships.

One of the most important tasks of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption is to look after students in Israel and, at the end of January 1973, there were some 6,300 students in academic and other educational institutions, as well as 1,570 students at the School for Talmudical Studies, under the care of the Student's Authority within the Ministry. The national origins of students have been changing in line with similar changes in the immigration movement as a whole. In 1972, for example, there was a decrease in the number of students coming to Israel from Western Europe, Asia and Africa and a marked increase in the numbers arriving from Eastern Europe.

Among many other activities, the Ministry has an active Information and Publicity Unit which produces an attractive range of information materials for immigrants which are lively, practical and personal, and completely lacking in the remoteness and formality which so often characterizes this kind of material. This Unit also tries to develop "absorption consciousness" among members of the public.

The Ministry is advised by a Public Council of some 76 representatives of all aliyah interests which meets about twice a year. It is the counterpart of the Canadian and Australian consultative machinery in immigration, but, on account of its size perhaps, appears to fulfil a more formal and symbolic role.

### Immigration Regulations

The actual regulations which govern entry to Israel are as follows: newcomers may enter Israel by one of two ways: as an "Oleh" or as a Temporary Resident. All newcomers must have a visa stamped in their passports in order to benefit from their rights and privileges on arrival. The visa is granted by the local Israel Consulate on the recommendation of the Israel Aliyah Centre. An "Oleh" visa is granted to newcomers who plan to settle permanently in Israel and this visa entitles the "Oleh" to Israeli citizenship upon arrival with all the privileges and obligations which that implies. The Israel Citizenship Law of 1952 grants Israeli citizenship automatically to any Jew who, under the Law of Return, acquires the status of "Oleh" either upon arrival or upon change of status from tourist or Temporary Resident.

Temporary Resident (A-1) visas are granted to those who come to Israel with the intention of settling, but who are not yet prepared to assume the obligations of a permanent resident. They are, in fact, potential immigrants. The A-1 visa must be

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<sup>10</sup> There is, for example, an active Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI) with a large membership and a professional staff in its Tel Aviv and branch offices. Among its many activities, the Association provides a complete counselling service for immigrants from the United States and Canada.

renewed annually and is valid up to three years. After this, the newcomer must decide either to leave Israel or to become an "Oleh". On receipt of an "Oleh" or Temporary Resident visa, the newcomer then has a medical examination which is carried out in the country of origin by a physician designated by the Israel Consulate.

Upon arrival in Israel, a newcomer holding an "Oleh" or Temporary Resident visa receives an Immigrant Booklet (Teudat Oleh) and the head of a family receives a teudat oleh for the entire family. This booklet has to be presented whenever newcomers apply for their special rights and privileges. Upon arrival also a newcomer receives an Israeli identity number on a special form which has to be taken subsequently to a branch office of the Ministry of the Interior where the newcomer receives an Israeli Identification Card which has to be carried in Israel at all times.<sup>11</sup>

### THE PRIVILEGES OF THE OLIM

A remarkable situation exists in Israel whereby immigrants are in a specially favoured position for a period of three years after arrival. For a while they have rights and privileges which the existing population does not and will not have. This is the reverse of the situation in other receiving countries including Canada, in which some care has been exercised to see that immigrants should not have more favourable treatment than the native born. The newcomers' rights are valid for three years from the actual date of entry to Israel and a wider range of benefits accrues to those who choose the full oleh status rather than the status of Temporary Resident. The following are some of these special rights and privileges:

- Interest-free loans to cover the cost of travel by air or sea to Israel.
- Exemption for three years from the substantial travel tax imposed in Israel for all journeys abroad.
- Exemption from customs duties, import licence and purchase tax on all personal and household effects and equipment for use in a factory, workshop or farm, as laid down in new regulations which came into effect on January 1, 1974.
- Exemption for three years from purchase tax on Israeli-made goods and appliances including a refrigerator, deep-freeze, washing machine, dryer, furniture, stove, vacuum cleaner, record player, bicycle, etc.
- Exemption from purchase tax on a car, motorcycle, scooter or commercial vehicle under 4.5 tons if purchased in Israel within two years of becoming an oleh. Reduced customs duties on these items if imported within a fixed period of time.
- Special income tax exemptions over and above the personal deductions granted to all residents.
- Business loans as well as various kinds of assistance in establishing a business.

<sup>11</sup> Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, "Guide for the Oleh", April 1973.

- Special loans to encourage olim to settle in the development areas and to establish businesses there.
- Free secondary schooling for the children of olim for four years after arrival. (Secondary education is not yet free in Israel.) Special classes in Hebrew, tutorial assistance and summer language training schools are available for public and high school students.
- Through the Student's Authority of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, students qualified for post-secondary education who are settling permanently or temporarily in Israel may obtain counselling and guidance, special assistance in learning Hebrew, housing assistance, and scholarships and exemption from tuition fees if needed.
- Free health insurance for the first six months in Israel.

#### Housing and Employment Assistance

In addition — and this list of privileges is not an exhaustive one — the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption provides considerable assistance in housing and employment. In the former area, the Ministry tries to find suitable housing for all the newcomers who need it, although it has no obligation to provide a particular type of housing solution or to provide housing in any particular location. The different kinds of housing assistance which are offered to olim include 1) apartments built by public and private contractors and allocated directly by the Ministry to olim, 2) mortgages for the purchase of apartments on the private market, 3) loans (combined sometimes with grants) for the key money required to rent unfurnished apartments in the older cities, 4) rent subsidies for both married and single people and 5) temporary rented apartments mainly for families waiting for permanent housing. Hostel accommodation is also available for an initial six-month period mainly for single people and small families.

In the area of employment, olim are entitled to a “degree of preferential treatment” in obtaining employment through the Government Employment Service and, if necessary, to vocational training and retraining courses (with living allowances), organized by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour. For those in the professional and managerial group, efforts are made to obtain job offers for them in advance of immigration if possible and “pre-aliyah visits” are organized for this purpose. The Office of Academic Employment of the Ministry of Labour assists academics to find employment in Israel both before and after immigration. The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption will pay the salary for one year for anyone who is offered a regular position with government or a university, for which budgetary coverage does not exist at the time of immigration. There are also special plans and programs for doctors, scientists and some other professionals. In the case of scientists, for example, there is a special fund of IL10 million to enable them to work in existing laboratories or to provide these facilities for them, as well as a recently established fund of \$50 million to encourage entrepreneurs to establish science-based industries in Israel and to assist existing industries employing scientists. New plans to create employment and more specialized training for immigrant doctors were announced in September 1973.



They include the provision of new medical services in preventive medicine, physiotherapy and first aid, the expansion of some existing services and the establishment of advanced study courses in ten major medical fields including anaesthetics, psychiatry, orthopaedics and family medicine.

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption reports that the Yom Kippur War and continuing partial mobilization have inevitably increased the problems of housing and the provision of employment opportunities for immigrants who are in the free professions, such as lawyers, economists and other social scientists, and for those in personal services. There have been no problems, however, in finding employment for immigrants who work in industry, construction and transportation, or in medical services.

Information concerning the rights and privileges provided for immigrants during their first three years in Israel, and the assistance available to them generally in the process of absorption, is described in a small booklet "Guide for the Oleh", provided overseas to all newcomers with Oleh or Temporary Resident status. The booklet makes quite clear that absorption is not an easy process and that in return for this generous range of assistance, the State of Israel requires an effort from the immigrant himself. "Absorption is a long and continuous process" the booklet reads, "and not everything can be set straight immediately. The State of Israel is making tremendous efforts to help you, while faced with its security and economic struggles. Please try to remember this on those occasions when things may seem to go wrong." Absorption, it says, is not a one-way street and requires thought, effort and patience on the part of immigrants themselves. The booklet concludes with the direct words of welcome used in all Israel's information for immigrants:

Good luck with your Aliyah

See you soon

SHALOM.

## ABSORPTION

A major effort is made to provide all newcomers with language training and orientation to life in Israel, as well as assistance with housing and employment. There are three types of transitional institutions which offer full- or part-time language training and orientation. They are Absorption Centres, Ulpanim (City Language Schools) and Kibbutz Ulpanim and they provide the following kinds of training with or without accommodation:

*Absorption Centres* which are mainly located in the smaller towns and development areas provide a five-month course in the rudiments of modern Hebrew together with an apartment furnished with the basic necessities. Some Absorption Centres, but not all, have a central dining hall as well as limited facilities for cooking in each apartment. Registration is limited to the professionally and technically trained olim or to self-employed persons whose educational level meets the requirements of the language school (ulpan). Families in which the head of the family knows Hebrew are not eligible, nor are single people under 30 or retired persons. The Hebrew classes in the ulpan are held five hours a day, six days a week and attendance is compulsory. Only adult members of the family attend the ulpan.

Their children attend the local schools and there are facilities in the Centres for the care of pre-school children.

Representatives of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Office of Academic Employment of the Ministry of Labour visit the Absorption Centres regularly to advise on housing and employment. Olim are expected to leave the Centres on completion of their five-month course, but cannot always do so on account of employment difficulties. Accommodation and tuition at the Centres is free, but families must pay for the cost of their own food. Loans to cover these costs are available in cases of dire necessity.

*Ulpanim.* The city Ulpanim provide residential and non-residential language training courses of a similar kind, of five months duration, mainly for single people and for a limited number of couples without children. In the case of ulpanim providing residential accommodation, this is of a simple kind and all meals are eaten in a communal dining room. These courses are not free and the cost of room, board and tuition for the five-month course is approximately \$185. In addition, there are municipal and privately run ulpanim which provide courses of varying length during the day and in the evening.

*Kibbutz Ulpanim.* For young people up to the age of 35, there are ulpanim located in more than 60 kibbutzim. These courses last for six months and are free. Students study for half a day, work on the kibbutz for the other half and participate fully in kibbutz activities.

#### Recent Research On Absorption

No other receiving country documents the adjustment of immigrants or records their progress as carefully as Israel does. There is a significant difference also between Israel and some other receiving countries including Canada, in that the information recorded in this way and the conclusions drawn from it, are made available to the public regularly through the Annual Report of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and periodical reports of the Central Bureau of Statistics. The Annual Report itself contains a very well-documented and frank discussion of the absorption program, its successes and difficulties and the steps which are being taken to deal with the latter. The Research and Planning Division of the Ministry works closely with the Central Bureau of Statistics and with other research institutions in a continuous process of data collection relating to immigration, its absorption and effect on the economy and its needs.

The Ministry's Annual Report for 1972 provides some very interesting information on the absorption of immigrants during that year. According to the Report, absorption went on satisfactorily in most areas but serious problems appeared in the fields of housing, and of employment for academics in certain occupations. As immigration went on increasing through the year (it was a third higher than in 1971), the stock of apartments held by the Ministry went on depleting. Housing was particularly scarce in the centre of the country. Many immigrants had to be directed to unfurnished apartments, often without electricity, while others lodged temporarily with relatives and the tempo of immigrants leaving the absorption centres slowed down. Although matters had returned to normal by the early part of 1973, these events — according to the Report — “served as a

reminder that the absorption authorities are at present operating within a very narrow margin of flexibility. The provision of a stock of apartments for immigrants on a much larger scale than the existing one in various stages of construction and planning seems to be essential for a proper absorption especially in the event of increased waves of immigration.”<sup>12</sup> As we have seen, these problems have become serious again as a result of the Yom Kippur War.

In relation to the second problem — finding employment for academics — the Report notes that in 1972, signs of saturation became apparent in a number of academic occupations. Here too, the Report states that, although swift action was taken to resolve the immediate problem, this occurrence served “as a reminder to us that continued immigration of thousands of academics who form consistently, year after year, about 40 per cent of all persons with professional skills among the immigrants (as against 18 per cent in the Jewish population of the country) calls for initiatives aimed at changing the path of development of the economy.”

The Report goes on to discuss recent research findings of the Ministry relating to the general adaptation of immigrants as indicated by the level of departures and the views of immigrants about their future in Israel; the housing situation generally; absorption in employment; social absorption and progress with Hebrew. Some very interesting information in these areas, however, is to be found in a somewhat later report published in July 1973 by the Central Bureau of Statistics relating to the group of 7,500 adult immigrants and potential immigrants who arrived in Israel during the four-month period from September to December 1969. Of this group, 15 per cent had left the country by the end of their third year. The majority of these immigrants were probably potential immigrants whose emigration rate during the last three years has been about 32 per cent. (It might be noted here that Israel watches over departures with the same concern as Australia has done. About a quarter of a million Israelis have left the country since 1948.) Of the remaining members of this group of immigrants, 88 per cent had definitely decided to stay in Israel and the rest were not yet certain.

Sixty per cent of this 1969 cohort of immigrants were in the labour force, as against 48 per cent of the population on a whole (either employed or seeking employment) and 8 per cent were unemployed compared with 2.6 per cent of the population at large. In relation to housing, 93 per cent were in permanent housing including 39 per cent in purchased homes, 52 per cent in rented accommodation and 2 per cent in kibbutzim. Nearly all (98 per cent) owned an electric refrigerator, 81 per cent had a T.V. set, 68 per cent a washing machine, and 35 per cent owned a car or commercial van (as against 25 per cent of the general population).

Canvassed on the subject of their degree of satisfaction in the areas of housing and employment, 39 per cent of these immigrants declared themselves “reasonably satisfied” with their present housing, while 41 per cent were “absolutely satisfied” with their house or apartment in terms of both size and location. In relation to employment, only 28 per cent were absolutely satisfied but a further 51 per cent were reasonably satisfied.

These findings were particularly interesting in the areas of language learning and social adjustment. After three years in Israel, one quarter of this sample of

<sup>12</sup> Israel, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, *Annual Report*, Jerusalem, 1972.



immigrants could not hold a conversation in Hebrew and 44 per cent did not read a Hebrew newspaper even occasionally. Only 16 per cent were thoroughly satisfied with their progress in Hebrew which is not an easy language to learn. The 1972 Annual Report of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption states that, after one year in Israel, about 30 per cent of all newcomers are able to converse freely in Hebrew and about half are able to read Hebrew, a minority of them in easy Hebrew only. Not all immigrants take courses in Hebrew and the majority of those who do are in the transitional institutions described above. In 1972, the percentage of those actively studying Hebrew during their first year in Israel was about 61 per cent, which is still probably a fairly high percentage compared with other receiving countries.

A striking and very familiar finding from the 1973 report relates to contacts with what are known as the “old-timers” in Israel, the native born and well established members of the Jewish community. Only 28 per cent of these newcomers had frequent social encounters with old-timers in Israel. Another 21 per cent had occasional meetings, 14 per cent rare meetings and 37 per cent (more than one in three) said that they had, after three years in the country, no social meetings with the local population at all. The 1972 Annual Report reveals the same situation:

A considerable proportion of the new arrivals (52 per cent) claim that their social life in Israel is inferior to that in their country of origin; they make this claim in the first and second year of stay in the country. It seems that this feeling stems from the paucity of social contacts in general and with Israeli old-timers, other than their countrymen, in particular. Contacts are especially rare in the age group 30-54 and of persons originating in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

This problem has been a matter of concern to the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption for several years and various steps have been taken to deal with it including a recent concentrated publicity campaign to increase public awareness of the process of immigrant absorption and to encourage a positive attitude towards it. To those aware of the problems of immigrants in their first years in a new country, this situation is a very familiar one and it is interesting to find it also in a country so committed to immigration as Israel.

### Special Problems

There have been other problems relating to the absorption of immigrants in Israel in addition to the initial difficulty which many immigrants experience in making friends and contacts among the existing population. In the past few years, there has seemed to be an increasing discontent on the part of many Israelis with the privileges and special help given to immigrants. This has been particularly evident among young people many of whom are Sabras, Israelis born in the country. Young couples particularly must look enviously at the housing, the tax-free appliances and educational privileges provided for newcomers, and recently action groups representing newlyweds with these and similar concerns have appeared in all the big towns. According to the 1972 Annual Report of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, however, there are signs now of “a certain lessening of hostile manifestations with regard to new strata of the veteran population” and no doubt the recent emergency has diverted attention from these problems and also strengthened public awareness of the need for immigration.

Immigrants themselves apparently complain a great deal about red tape and bureaucratic delays in Israel, so much so that in 1973 the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, convened a special conference in Tel Aviv of public employees involved in immigrant absorption, to examine this question. In her opening address, she delivered a sharp attack on “the bureaucratic red tape, inefficiency and prolonged delays which have become an integral part of the immigrant absorption process here”. She also expressed her disappointment with the results of the establishment of a separate government ministry for immigrant absorption, saying that she had at the time hoped that the ministry would mean that “the immigrant would have one address for all his problems. This is still not the case and he is still given the run around.” “Is this really necessary” she asked “Or is it the vain prestige of different organizations which interferes here?” Among various measures proposed to deal with these problems, senior officials in all the ministries concerned would be asked, Mrs. Meir said, to set up special teams to examine the problem of red tape within their own organization.<sup>13</sup>

### Russian Immigrants

The successful absorption of some 83,000 Russian immigrants in Israel in the last four years<sup>14</sup> is a great achievement and Mrs. Meir — in her speech to the Tel Aviv conference — called this “the second greatest miracle after the establishment of the Jewish State”. Here, she said, was a spontaneous wave of immigration which had come on its own “without any emissaries and with many people only becoming conscious of their Jewishness at an adult age”. This created problems which other immigrants did not experience. “They know less about the country and about their rights” she said “and from experience in the U.S.S.R. they have learned to distrust government officials”.<sup>15</sup>

It is clear that this great influx of people has not been absorbed without strain, or without special difficulties for these new immigrants who do not know what to expect from a free society. A hunger strike followed by an angry mass demonstration of Georgian immigrants, for example, occurred at the port of Ashdod during the summer of 1973 in protest against the dismissal of 47 workers at the end of the citrus season. Among other complaints, the protesting immigrants pointed out that in the Soviet Union they were accustomed to having secure all year-round employment. This demonstration was followed by a meeting between representatives of the Ashdod community and Mrs. Meir (who has always shown a special concern for Russian immigrants), the then Minister of Immigrant Absorption Nathan Peled and Minister of Transport Shimon Peres, as well as port

<sup>13</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, August 28, 1973.

<sup>14</sup> About 8,000 immigrants have been leaving Israel each year. According to the 1973 Annual Report of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, received very recently, the highest percentage of immigrants who came to Israel in 1970 and left three years after is found among immigrants from North America and Western Europe (about 30 per cent), most of whom come to Israel as potential immigrants. The lowest percentage is found among immigrants from Eastern Europe (5 per cent) and Asia-Africa (6 per cent), most of whom come as immigrants. But the rate of emigration among immigrants from the Soviet Union is also low. About 2 per cent have been leaving Israel within a year and about 3 per cent within two years, as compared with 25 per cent among all other immigrants in those periods. Nevertheless the Report notes that in 1973 the drop-out rate among those who left the Soviet Union, but did not actually arrive in Israel, increased. Five per cent of those who left last year (in 1973) dropped out in Europe and settled in other countries.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

officials and representatives of the Georgian immigrants. It emerged that, in addition to employment problems, there was a considerable communications gap between the Georgians and the local community in Ashdod, as few of these new immigrants spoke Hebrew, and in addition the Georgians were being crowded into one quarter of the town “lacking shops, clinics, kindergartens and synagogues”.<sup>16</sup> Mrs. Meir and her colleagues promised to look into all these matters.

As a result perhaps of these efforts and of the hoped for arrival of larger numbers of immigrants, steps have now been taken to try and improve the quality and availability of services provided by government to the immigrant. In a recent interview, Mr. Pinhas Sapir said that, as far as the Jewish Agency and the Government were concerned, there was now the fullest co-ordination between all the bodies involved in aliyah and absorption, and that at least part of the problem caused by “unjustified bureaucracy” would be overcome. “We are at last”, he said, “setting up twelve bureaus, each in a different part of the country, which will house under one roof representatives of all the bodies a new *oleh* has to deal with, so that he will no longer have to wander from building to building, and sometimes from city to city, in order to complete his processing.”

Mr. Sapir also said that a major effort must be made to overcome the social isolation of some immigrants. “We often hear of cases” he said “where *olim* have solved their problems of housing, employment, schooling, etc., more or less to their satisfaction, but find themselves living in a socio-cultural desert, unable — not always through their own fault — to establish contact with their Israeli neighbours”. Mr. Sapir said that he would continue to speak to the leaders of community organizations to urge them to intensify their work with the *olim*, but that, in the last analysis, it was a matter for every Israeli individual and home to offer welcoming arms and a helping hand.<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in another familiar immigrant context, Soviet immigrants as a whole have now split into two groups roughly representing the new and older immigration. At a tumultuous annual convention of the Soviet Immigrants Association in Beersheva in August 1973, it was announced that a new breakaway group would be formed to be known as “The Association of New Immigrants from the Soviet Union”. Membership in the new group would be restricted to those who had immigrated from the Soviet Union after the Six Day War. Members of the new group accused the older association of having no less than 42 delegates at its annual meeting who had never set foot in the Soviet Union.<sup>18</sup>

## POPULATION GROWTH

If the problems of immigrant absorption are very similar in most receiving countries, attitudes to the question of population growth are not. In this matter, Israel is an odd man out in being totally dedicated to it for reasons of national security and national development. She has not, therefore, appointed a special

<sup>16</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, July 24, 1973.

<sup>17</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, September 24, 1974.

<sup>18</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, August 7, 1973.



population commission or set up a large-scale investigation into the issues involved, but is in fact constantly preoccupied with the population question within the normal structure of government.

In 1968, a Government Demographic Centre was established within the Prime Minister's Office charged with the responsibility for developing a population policy for the whole country. Israel has a Central Bureau of Statistics which administers a centralized system of official statistics and data collection, which includes well-developed socio-demographic statistics, as well as an automated, centralized population register. The Central Bureau of Statistics is reported to be in intensive contact with all governmental and other public agencies which require population data for economic or social analysis, policy formulation and development plans. Planning bodies which make use of its population statistics include the Government Demographic Centre, the Economic Planning Authority in the Ministry of Finance, and the Manpower Planning Authority in the Ministry of Labour.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the population research carried on by the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour have been working, in the last two or three years, on a population growth and dispersal plan based on a population target of five million by the year 1992.<sup>20</sup> The Government uses incentives such as housing and employment opportunities, tax relief and youth projects to encourage settlement in outlying development areas.

The Central Bureau of Statistics, in its "Second Enquiry on Population Growth and Development", has made certain long-term projections relating to Israel's future population growth, using several alternative assumptions relating to immigration which it regards as a vital, but highly unpredictable element. On the basis of assumptions of a) 40,000 and b) 70,000 immigrants per annum, the projected size of Israel's total population in 1980 is 4,020,000 and 4,340,000 respectively. The corresponding projections for 1990 are 5,130,000 and 5,800,000 respectively. It was noted in the Enquiry Report that if the change due to migration is closer to alternative a) than to alternative b), Israel's population in the year 2000 will be around 6,000,000. If a larger intake is achieved in the coming years, this projection would, of course, have to be revised upward.<sup>21</sup>

During the fall of 1974, the major task facing Israel in immigration was to make the essential plans and preparations for the anticipated arrival of much larger numbers of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union under the U.S.-Soviet agreement. This had to be done despite Israel's high rate of inflation and severe economic difficulties; despite the fact that many Jews in the Diaspora, on whom Israel relies for substantial financial support, are also affected by inflation and economic constraints; and despite the ever-present threat of terrorist activity or another full-scale war. Nevertheless, the present Minister of Immigrant Absorption, Mr. Shlomo Rosen announced in the Knesset in late October 1974 that the Economic Planning Authority was now developing plans for different numerical levels of immigration, that housing would be completed for the first 60,000 new immigrants from the Soviet Union by the end of 1975, and that 40 per cent of these

<sup>19</sup> Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Second Enquiry on Population Growth and Development*, Jerusalem, 1973.

<sup>20</sup> Plan for a Geographical Distribution of a Five Million Population of Israel, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of the Interior, Jerusalem, July 1972.

<sup>21</sup> Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Second Enquiry on Population Growth and Development*, Jerusalem, 1973.

immigrants would be settled in the development areas, 10 per cent in Jerusalem and the remainder along the coast. Following the cancellation of the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement, however, Mr. Rosen informed the Knesset that his Ministry would now continue to plan for the absorption of 55,000 to 60,000 newcomers per year, the annual immigration figures for 1972-73.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, Weekly Overseas Edition, January 21, 1975.

## APPENDIX A

### IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1820–1973

1820	8,385
1821 – 1830	143,439
1831 – 1840	599,125
1841 – 1850	1,713,251
1851 – 1860	2,598,214
1861 – 1870	2,314,824
1871 – 1880	2,812,191
1881 – 1890	5,246,613
1891 – 1900	3,687,564
1901 – 1910	8,795,386
1911 – 1920	5,735,811
1921 – 1930	4,107,209
1931 – 1940	528,431
1941 – 1950	1,035,039
1951 – 1960	2,515,479
1961 – 1970	3,321,677
1971 – 1973	1,155,226
Total	46,317,864

### ADMISSION OF IMMIGRANT ALIENS, 1946 TO 1973

1946	108,721
1947	147,292
1948	170,570
1949	188,317
1950	249,187
1951	205,717
1952	265,520
1953	170,434
1954	208,177
1955	237,790
1956	321,625
1957	326,867
1958	253,265
1959	260,686
1960	265,398
1961	271,344
1962	283,763
1963	306,260
1964	292,248
1965	296,697
1966	323,040
1967	361,972
1968	454,448
1969	358,579
1970	373,326
1971	370,478
1972	384,685
1973	400,063

Note: From 1820 to 1967, these figures represent alien passengers arrived. From 1868 through 1891 and 1895 through 1897, they represent immigrant aliens arrived; and from 1892 through 1894 and 1898 to the present time, immigrant aliens admitted.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.





## APPENDIX B

### U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY

#### Amendments of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 by the Act of October 3, 1965

- I. Classes not subject to the numerical limitations:
  - 1. Spouse and children of U.S. citizens and parents of citizens over the age of 21; (Sec. 201(b)).
  - 2. Returning residents; (Sec. 101(a)(27)(C)).
  - 3. Certain former U.S. citizens; (Sec. 101(a)(27)(C)).
  - 4. Ministers of religion and the spouse and children of such immigrants; (Sec. 101(a)(27)(D)).
  - 5. Certain employees or former employees of the U.S. Government abroad and the accompanying spouse and children of such immigrants; (Sec. 101(a)(27)(E)).

#### Eastern Hemisphere

- II. Numerical limitations to which other applicants are subject:
  - 1. Overall numerical limitation: 170,000 per annum.
  - 2. National limit: 20,000.
  - 3. Dependent area limitation: each colony or other dependency may use not more than 1 per cent of the total of visa numbers available to the mother country.
  - 4. Quarterly limitation: not more than 45,000 in any of the first three quarters of the fiscal year.
- III. Preference system (percentage applied against 170,000 limitation):
  - 1. First preference: unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. Not more than 20 per cent.
  - 2. Second preference: spouse and unmarried sons and daughters of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence. Twenty per cent plus any not required for first preference.
  - 3. Third preference: members of the professions and scientists and artists of exceptional ability. Not more than 10 per cent.

4. Fourth preference: married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. Ten per cent plus any not required for the first three preferences.
5. Fifth preference: brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. Twenty-four per cent plus any not required for the first four preferences.
6. Sixth preference: skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labour is in short supply in the United States. Not more than 10 per cent.
7. Seventh preference: refugees to whom conditional entry or adjustment of status may be granted. Not more than 6 per cent.
8. Nonpreference: any applicant not entitled to one of the above preferences. Any numbers not required for preference applicants.
9. Pool numbers may not be used by nonpreference applicants.
10. The spouse and child of any preference applicant may be classified within the same preference if a visa is not otherwise immediately available.

#### Western Hemisphere

- IV. Immigrants born in any independent country of the Western Hemisphere or in the Canal Zone and the spouse and children of such immigrants are subject to a numerical limitation of 120,000 per annum (Sec. 21(e), Act of October 3, 1965). (No foreign state limitation. No preference system.)



APPENDIX C  
AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION  
PERMANENT SETTLEMENT, 1945 – 73

Financial Year	Recorded Arrivals	Recorded Departures	Net Gain
1945–46	23,588	33,351	9,763
1946–47	47,276	53,719	6,443
1947–48	94,174	64,809	29,365
1948–49	172,851	71,705	101,146
1949–50	254,565	93,018	161,547
1950–51	230,158	97,181	132,977
1951–52	216,205	113,326	102,879
1952–53	182,161	124,097	58,064
1953–54	177,682	124,632	53,050
1954–55	224,789	133,316	91,473
1955–56	244,551	145,713	98,838
1956–57	242,236	155,859	86,377
1957–58	225,167	158,566	66,601
1958–59	241,020	163,863	77,157
1959–60	275,992	196,874	79,118
1960–61	313,103	227,913	85,190
1961–62	312,640	264,230	48,410
1962–63	357,606	287,882	69,724
1963–64	412,903	328,496	84,407
1964–65	490,522	389,967	100,555
1965–66	540,463	448,074	92,389
1966–67	590,943	503,570	87,373
1967–68	695,535	602,177	93,358
1968–69	836,397	709,972	126,425
1969–70	957,434	844,870	112,564
1970–71	1,052,603	951,184	101,419
1971–72	1,076,684	1,035,007	41,677
1972–73	1,185,749	1,157,746	28,003

Source: Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics, Department of Immigration, Canberra, 1973.



# APPENDIX D

## ISRAEL

### JEWISH IMMIGRATION, 1948—73

1948	101,828 <sup>1</sup>	1961	47,638
1949	239,576	1962	61,382
1950	170,249	1963	64,364
1951	175,095	1964	54,716
1952	24,369	1965	30,736
1953	11,326	1966	15,730
1954	18,370	1967	14,327
1955	37,478	1968	20,544
1956	56,234	1969	32,679
1957	71,224	1970	36,928
1958	27,082	1971	42,000
1959	23,895	1972	56,000
1960	24,510	1973	53,000

<sup>1</sup> From May 15 to December 31, 1948.





















